

Skandia II

No. 1.

THORS DAGEN DEN 18de NOVEMBER, 1875.

1ste. AARGANG.

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OPBRUDEN er nu Dagen
Og naaet er vort Maal,
Vi hilse Fremtids-agen
Med Fremtidsønskers Skaal;
Nu Flaget vi udbrøde
Med Raab fra Kyst til Kyst,
Og kjækt i Rækken træde
For Aandekampens Dyst.

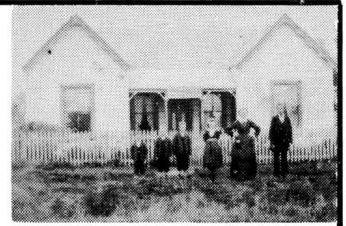
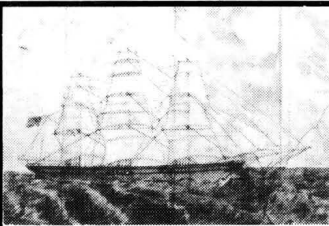
Adskildt fra Fædre-tammen
Med Hjemve i vort Bryst,
Vi flokke nu isammen
Ved Modersmaalets Røst;
Nu Hjertet let kan lønke
Thi dulmet er vort Savn,
Vi har en Fællestanie
I "Skandia" dit Navn!

Og Enighed giér Kræften
At kæmpe stadigt frem
For Del af Folkemagten
Her i vort nye Hjem
At vise, at vi springe
Fra Jettest i Nord,
At Kjempekraft vi bringe
Om fjernt fra Fædrejerd.
Ja! lad os værne Sæden,
Som Fædrene os gav,

Saa hilset være Dagen,
Som fødte Liv og Lyst
Og dulmet Længelsklagen
Om fjerne Fædrelyst.
Med Alvor vi nu rende
Vort Blik mod Folkets Trang
Og "Skandia" udsende
Idag for første Gang.

"For første Gang." Ja, hvor meget ligger der ikke i de faa Ord og hvilken stor Betydning have de ikke for hver især af os, naar vi kaste vort Blik tilbage paa det svundne Liv! Mange, baade Sorgens og Glædens Tanker, samle sig om hine tre Ord og pege betydningsfuldt til et eller andet Vendepunkt i vort Liv. Hvor mangen Synder mod guddommelige og menneskelige Love er det ikke, som ser tilbage med Beklagelse paa hin "første Gang," da han betraadte den gale Vej, og som nu henslæber sit ulse Liv i Statens Fængsler eller plaget af Samvittighedsnag og Selvbefridelser flakker om uden Rist og Ro. Og fremdeles, hvor mange er det ikke, som med Bedrøvelse og Anger ser tilbage paa "den første Gang" han begyndte at nedværdige sin Sjæl og sit Legeme ved et udsvævende Liv. Men for mange og, som jeg

fyldestgjørende Maade gjøre Regnskab for det store Ansvar, som er os paalagt. Vi haabe derfor at vi for vort eget Vedkommende vil kunne se med Glæde tilbage paa den Dag, da vi for første Gang begyndte vor Virksomhed blandt eder som Udgiver af "Skandia," at vi da kan føle, at vore Bestræbelser ere blevne kronede med Held og at mange af vore Landsmænd have lært noget nyttigt og godt ved Avisens Virksomhed. Vi haabe fremdeles, at hine Ord ville have en glædelig Betydning ogsaa for eder, vore Læsere, at, naar Aar ere henvundne og "Skandia" har fundet en Plads i eders Hjerte og Hjem, at I da ville kunn se tilbage med Glæde paa den Dag, da Bladet udkom "for første Gang," at I fra den Tid ikke fandt Kvældene saa lange og Arbeids-Dagene saa tunge, og at mange af eder fra den Stund begyndte at se Forholdene og Gjenstandene i eders nye Hjem i sit rette og sande Lys. Dette sidste haabe vi ogsaa vil blive Tilfælde med vore Læsere i Hjemlandene, og at Bladet vil tjene til at forjage de mange Fordomme, falske Ideer og urigtige Indtryk, som man derhjemme har faaet om New-Zealand og Livet herude enten gennem falske Beretninger eller misforstaaede Oplysninger og saaledes give paatænkte Emigranter Anledning til at vælge og bedømme deres fjerne Hjem, allerede förend de forlade sit Fædreland. For Skandinaverne som et Hele haabe vi ogsaa,



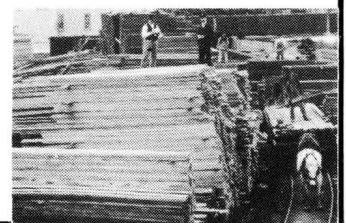
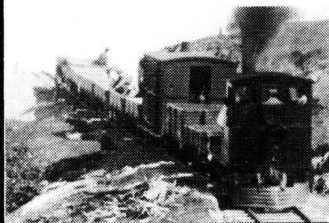
MOSQUITOES & SAWDUST

A history of Scandinavians in
early Palmerston North
&
surrounding districts

by Val A. Burr

on behalf of the

Scandinavian Club of Manawatu



mange, Aarhundredes Kamp med Elementerne, lig Jetter forstenede i Slagets vildeste Hede, henstrakte, trodsigt kneisende eller nedad hældende, som om de pludseligen vare blevne stansede i deres Fald paa Slagmarken, nogle fantastisk grupperede, andre ensomme og forladte og atter andre blandede om hverandre i den vildeste Uorden. Det eneste Tegn paa Liv, den eneste Gjenstand, som kan tjene til at fjerne den nedtrykkende Følelse af Forladthed og Odelæggelse, som ufeilbarligen overvælder Iagttageren, ere uhyre Duske af "Snegræs," som hist og her finde en tarvelig Næring blandt de hensmuldrende Kjempe-

varmtsmilende Ansigt.

Pludseligen brød den alt-beseirende Sol frem. Netop som dens første Straaler oplyste Scenen, rullede der frem af en huleagtig Fordybning, gnavet af Tidens Tand i et uhyre Klippestrykke af metamorfisk Lerskifer—(some mine Venner Geologerne behage at kalde det)—en Mand.

En ung Mand. Saa meget var öiensynligt ved første Blik. Men enten Naturen havde begunstiget ham med smukke eller halslige Ansigtstræk vilde have været vanskeligt at sige. Thi en Skov af tuvset og ukæmmet Haar umuliggjorde ethert Forsög paa nærmere at beskrive denne

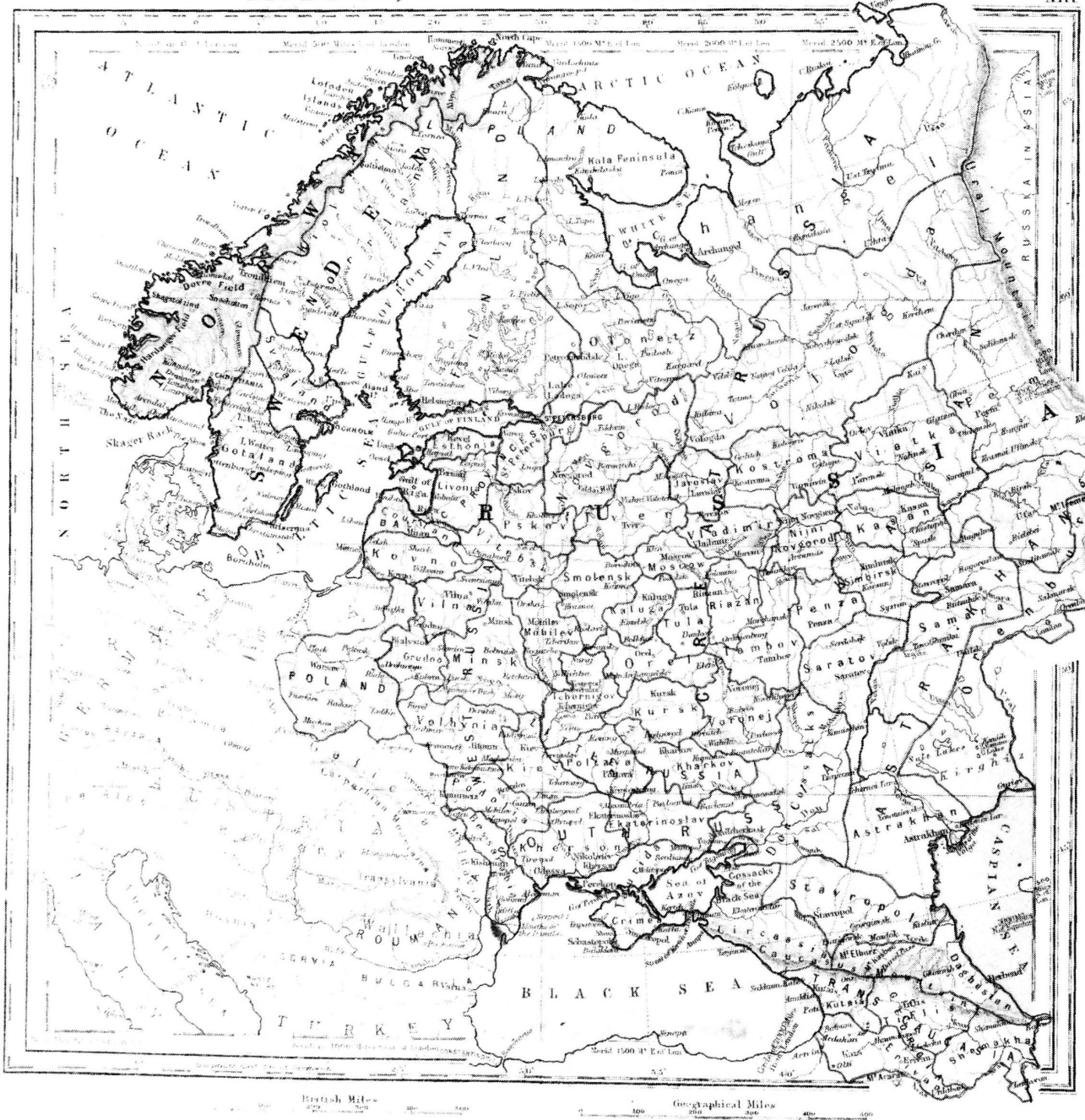
merne i sin begrændsede Garderobe en Kniv, en Eske med Fyrstikker, en Kage Tobak og en kort Merskumspibe, sort nok til at fremkalde "gamle Smögere's" Misundelse og "soused" nok til at afholde Begyndere fra al videre Studium af den Næotinske Kunst. Efterat have fyldt og tændt den, skuldrerede han igjen sin "swag" og med sit Ansigt vendt mod Nord fulgte han den veltraadte

* "Moleskins Unævnelige"—Buxer af "engelsk Skind."

† Swag.—Slangudtryk taget fra det engelske Verbum "to swag"—at hænge, dingle, og betegner en Byrde af ethvert Slags. Er mest brugt om den Byrde, som en Omvandrende bærer paa sine Skuldre.

RUSSIA, SWEDEN & NORWAY &c.

XIII



A Square of 2500 English Miles, subdivided into squares of 500 Miles.
 The lines drawn from London as a centre show the direct distance from London in English Miles.

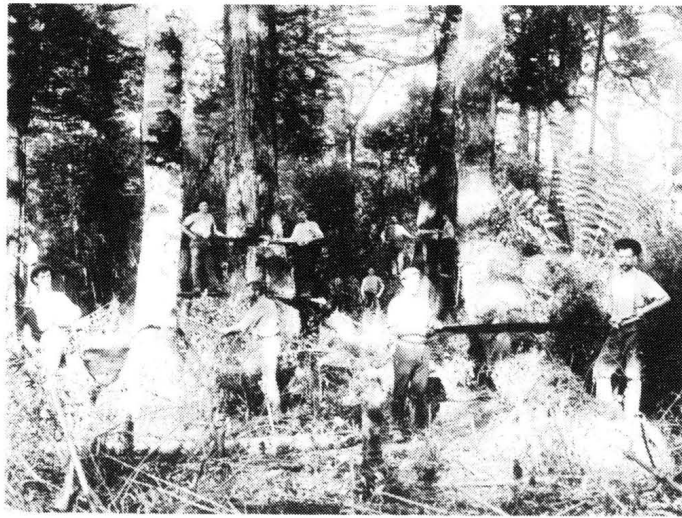
Sweden, Norway and Russia as they were in 1879, from Nelson's Atlas of the World (1879): XIII. See inside back.

Cover: Front page of only known edition of 'Skandia' newspaper 1875; Celaeno [Canterbury Museum], Torkil Gundersen and family [Palmerston North City Archives]; photo by Charles Mariboe of a train about 1885, said to be between Woodville and Dannevirke [Palmerston North Public Library]; Palmerston North Sash, Door & Timber Company's Timber yard between Main Street and Broadway Avenue, photographed between 1892 and 1910 [Palmerston North Public Library].

Opposite: A gang of 'bush whackers' at work on a bushfelling contract on Mr H.J. Rutherford's property [in 1970] on the Pohangina Valley East Road, Komako, in the Pohangina Valley. The names of some of the men are known. This photo, taken around 1904, and others from the Pohangina area which have been used throughout this book, were the work of Charles E. Wildbore, a Pohangina farmer. He took many 'action' photos around the Pohangina district while it was going through the same transformation from bush to farmland that the Palmerston North area had undergone in the 1870s. (Palmerston North Public Library)

MOSQUITOES & SAWDUST

**a history of Scandinavians
in
early Palmerston North
and
surrounding districts.
('Skandia II')**



**By Val A. Burr,
on behalf of the
SCANDINAVIAN CLUB OF MANAWATU.
P.O. Box 84,
Palmerston North,
New Zealand.**

**This book is dedicated:-
to the many people whose lives or whose memories
and genealogical research have made it possible,
to a little girl named Karen Andersen (1873-1877),
and to
Bengt Fromen,
(30/12/1932-29/5/1992)**



Bengt Fromen (above) was chairperson of the Scandinavian Club of Manawatu from 1989 until his death on 29 May 1992, at the age of 59. Thanks to his inspiration and enthusiasm - and thanks to the author's endless energy and persistence - a pious hope became a scholarly and very important piece of work. It is also a very timely piece of work, rescuing resources before they were lost in the Manawatu soil, and giving flesh and blood [hot blood too] to the shadowy figures of early Pakeha Palmerston North.

Bengt was born in the famous university city of Uppsala, Sweden, and fittingly received his M.A. Degree from there. He spent a year in New York, mainly to perfect his English, and then worked as a reporter on the Uppsala newspaper, 'Nya Tidningen', until he and his Auckland-born wife left Sweden, bound for New Zealand. Bengt and Margaret made their home at Foxton in 1963 and Bengt was for the next 25 years, language teacher and later Head of Department at Manawatu College, Foxton.

Ability to inspire and enthuse others are great gifts, but Bengt was also known for his thoroughness, for his own scholarship and - above all - for his kindness. All who ever met Bengt felt richer for that experience. The Scandinavian gathering in Foxton in March 1993, was planned by Bengt and Margaret, and later dedicated to the memory of Bengt. In 1992 Bengt's friends from his university days, planted a tree in Israel in his memory. In June 1993, Margaret Fromen took his ashes back to Danmarks Church, Uppsala. - Johan Bonnevie, Chairperson of the Scandinavian Club of Manawatu between May 1992 and 1994.

Several days before his death, Bengt and I had what we thought was to be our first discussion on the actual layout of this book. Understandably, the sudden realisation that it would have to be written without him was somewhat daunting. We had previously discussed the book's general content, and Bengt had also planned an early layout for 'Skandia I' which had not been fully utilised then due to time constraints. Having these resources to fall back on helped me considerably, and I hope Bengt would be pleased with the result. He was keen to prepare a chapter on emigration from Scandinavian to New Zealand in more recent times. Regrettably, without his input, this very interesting topic could not be covered at this time. - Val A. Burr.

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A



B



SOME OF THE SCANDINAVIAN CLUB OF MANAWATU'S ACTIVITIES: (a) The 'Sancte Lucia' at our Christmas Party, Kairanga Hall, December 1985; (b) Awaiting the start of the Palmerston North Christmas Parade, 1985. [Note the old St. Luke's Lutheran Church, built 1906, in the background]; (c) A Club day out at the Feilding Races, November 1986; (d) Tramping on the Mangatepopo Track, Tongariro National Park, January 1987. (Photos: Ann Hill)

C



D



THE AUTHOR

Although Val Burr's 25% of Scandinavian ancestry [or 4 of her 10 great grandparents] was not at the forefront of her upbringing, it was ever present in that her family's Kelvin Grove dairy farm was part of the old Stoney Creek Scandinavian Block and it had been in the Dahlstrom/Burr family since 1877. Although almost entirely subdivided for housing now, her parents still own the homestead site which retains many memories of its Scandinavian past. Val, who lives nearby, was born in 1953 and has two children, Tanya (13) and Kieran (4). She has almost completed a Bachelor of Arts at Massey University, and has majored in history and social anthropology.

Val credits her aunt, Vera McLennan-Boman, with being responsible for her interest in historical matters. Vera is the author of 'From Stoney Creek to Whakarongo: 1877-1977' [on the Whakarongo and Kelvin Grove districts, including the Scandinavians] and 'Glimpses into Early Manawatu' [on the Burr family's connection with the Manawatu since 1841]. Val's interest in researching Scandinavian matters developed following a not-too-successful essay for a Massey University history paper in 1988. While she was interested in her Manawatu forebears, all the information available focussed heavily on the Seventy-

Mile Bush settlers. From this growing interest developed membership of the Scandinavian Club of Manawatu, the opportunity to contribute to 'Skandia I' and now the writing of this book. In the meantime she also had two essays on early Foxton settlers published in the Foxton Historical Society's series of booklets, 'Pioneers of Foxton'; and an essay on her great grandmother, Lydia Burr, published in 'The Book of New Zealand Women', in 1991. A number of the biographies Val prepared for this book and for 'Skandia I' were also used for Cathie Harrop's former Radio New Zealand programme, 'Pioneer Families of New Zealand'.

If Val's long-suffering family will allow it, she intends to continue studying aspects of Scandinavian history in New Zealand, including the sawmilling company, Richter, Nannestad & Co. She is also interested in the wider non-British immigrant population, especially the early German settlers who lived alongside the Scandinavians. Another interest is treatment of the naturalised non-British immigrants during World War One, as well as the history of the Kelvin Grove district, and the life and work of her English-born maternal great grandfather, the Wanganui architect and surveyor, George Frederic Allen.

A



B



C



D



SOME OF THE SCANDINAVIAN CLUB OF MANAWATU'S ACTIVITIES: (a) Dancing at the 'Viking Fest' at Ashhurst Hall on 24 November 1990, at the start of 'Scandy Week'; (b) Outside the new St. Luke's Lutheran Church on 25 November 1990 [see also page 156]; (c) Club members' snow-covered cars during a weekend at Sixtus Lodge, Apiti, August 1992; (d) Auckland Danish Society members at the 6th Scandinavian Gathering, Foxton, March 1993 [see also page 167]. (Photos: Ann Hill)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

On behalf also of the Scandinavian Club of Manawatu, I would like to thank all those who participated in the preparation of this book. In the case of those who shared their family stories with us, we acknowledge that some had gone to considerable effort and cost to obtain their information. We take pleasure in now returning their generosity by sharing our research. I would also like to record the passing of one of my respondents, Rhona Gosling, who died on 28 October, 1994, aged 84, after a short illness. Her memories of her grandparents, Niels Christian and Ragnhild Hansen, were in many ways unique as Rhona had grown up in their household.

Many others also helped with this book and, while not all can be named here, I would like to thank Barbara Olsen and Ian Matheson of Palmerston North City Archives; the staff of the New Zealand and Pacific Reference Section of the Palmerston North Public Library, who also gave us access to their photographic collection; Cindy Lilburn of the Manawatu Museum; the staff of the Births, Deaths & Marriages section of the Palmerston North Courthouse; and my friends from the W.E.A. Local History Group, some of whom had a direct input while all provided moral support; also Ted Nikoliason and Ray Sigvertsen, both of Masterton; the staff of Alexander Turnbull Library and National Archives, Wellington; and S.V. Lampard of the Wellington Maritime Museum. The Rangitane Community Creche, Palmerston North, also warrants acknowledgement for the vital support role it played during the research phase of this book.

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In some cases we were obliged to reproduce special photos from other books. An acknowledgement accompanies each of these photos and where possible permission was gained. Wendy Cutfield, nee Petersen, gave permission for us to use photos from her father's book, 'D.G. Monrad'; while my 'Burr relatives', Ken Cassells and Vera

McLennan-Boman, gave permission to duplicate photos from their books, 'The Foxton and Wanganui Railway' and 'From Stoney Creek to Whakarongo 1877-1977' respectively.

As this book has been produced on something of a low budget, special gratitude must be accorded to those who helped prepare the script — usually in less-than-ideal circumstances. Where possible the families concerned checked their own story; Brian Mather [organiser of the aforementioned W.E.A. Local History group] proofread the first draft; City Archivist, Ian Matheson, checked it for local history content; Norwegian-born Club-member, Johan Bonnevie, checked the Scandinavian perspective; Massey University history lecturer, Dr. David Thomson, ensured that Chapter 2 was on the right track, while Dr. Peter Lineham, also of Massey's History Department, ensured that I had not gone off course with Chapter 13 as I had not previously studied religion. The final draft was then proofread by Grant Harris, a Massey English tutor. Many thanks to all concerned and, of course, remaining mistakes are my own efforts — probably because of all those last minute changes!!! Many thanks also to Eric Lister (of 'Wet Pets', Tremaine Avenue), who ensured that Stylex's computer system could read the material from my word processor and, of course, to the ever-helpful staff of Stylex.

I must also express my gratitude to my children, who have lived with this book and 'Skandia I' for years. There is no doubt that without their co-operation it could not have been written. I feel this is also an appropriate time to thank the various people who have taught me at Massey University since 1988. (Val A. Burr, December 1994)

* * * * *

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FOREWORD

The presence of a Scandinavian community in the Palmerston North district has been acknowledged by several generations of Manawatu historians, but until recent years the identity and personal histories of these Danes, Norwegians and Swedes have been shrouded in mystery. In 1965 the late George Petersen illuminated the story of the Monrad family and since that date a number of other families have produced small publications which provide further glimpses into the lives of individual settlers and their descendants. A major contribution to the literature of this subject appeared in 1990, when the Scandinavian Club of Manawatu published a 70 page book of biographical essays entitled **Early Manawatu Scandinavians**, which shed much valuable light upon the lives of some 50 individuals and family groups.

One of the principal contributors to the 1990 book was Val Burr, who has continued to research the subject with much dedication, enthusiasm and skill. The results of her labours are now embodied in the present publication, which contains a detailed account of the families who arrived in New Zealand on the ships "*Celaeno*" and

"*England*" in 1871 and some other Scandinavians who also settled in Palmerston North during the 1870s.

This book lifts the cloak of anonymity from these early settlers and enables us to see them as individuals and families. They are no longer a faceless group of "Scandies", speaking a foreign language in a remote corner of a distant past; they now stand before us as real people, living in a real world, and speaking the language of humanity which crosses the barriers of time and space. They are restored to their rightful place as people of our land.

I congratulate Val Burr on the quality of her research and I am confident that this book will be warmly received by the biological and spiritual descendants of the people who are featured in its pages.

Ian Matheson
Archivist
Palmerston North City Council

2 December 1994



The statue of a 19th century emigrant couple above Karlshamn Harbour, Sweden. The husband looks boldly down the harbour, anticipating the new life he has decided they will begin in a new land. The less confident wife, however, aware that they face an unknown future, cannot help glancing back to the people and the way of life they are leaving behind. No doubt many of New Zealand's immigrant couples, Scandinavian and otherwise, shared similar thoughts. The statue depicts a fictional couple, Karl Oskar and Kristina, who emigrated to America. They feature in the series of books 'The Emigrants' (1956), 'Unto a Good Land' and 'The Last Letter Home' (1961), by Vilhelm Moberg. (Margaret and the late Bengt Fromen).

Author's Note: Unfortunately it has not been possible in this instance to use the three extra letters found at the end of the various Scandinavian alphabets, and this, along with Anglicisation in some cases, has led to a few complications. Readers should be aware that the English letters 'a', 'o' and 'ae' which I have used in some Scandinavian names and words, may involve these letters, 'Høvding', Møn (Island) and Göteborg/Gothenburg being examples. Surnames, especially maiden-names, were also subject to variation (i.e. Nilsson/Nilsson, Hansdatter/Hansen), while in some cases there was doubt as to which of two or three christian names was the dominant name (or pair of names). I hope readers will make allowances for these difficulties.

V.A.B.

1

MOSQUITOES AND SAWDUST

In 1989, as a result of a writing contest held in conjunction with the Fourth bi-annual Scandinavian Gathering the Scandinavian Club of Hawkes Bay which hosted that Gathering, produced the book 'Links with the Past'. The biographies that book presented included those of a wide variety of Scandinavian immigrants who had settled around the lower North Island since the 1870s. With 'Links with the Past' as a model, in 1990 the Scandinavian Club of Manawatu published its first book, 'Early Manawatu Scandinavians', more commonly known as 'Skandia I'. This was the Club's contribution to New Zealand's Sesquicentenary, and was comprised mostly of stories about people who had settled in the Manawatu. Like 'Links with the Past', the intention was that the stories would be written by the families concerned, but while a number of families were able to do this with ease, it was clear that others were not - often because they thought they did not know enough about their forebears. Still other early settlers were not represented even though very interesting stories were known about them, as descendants could not be traced - if they ever existed. Yet they deserved to be documented also. In addition to this difficulty, time constraints with 'Skandia I' saw some parts intended for it left out to wait for a subsequent book. Thus in 1991 the time was right to begin preparations for 'Skandia II', later to be named 'Mosquitoes & Sawdust' after two things very familiar to those living in the bush in the early years.

'Mosquitoes & Sawdust' ['Skandia II'] was to be different to its predecessor. While family stories written by the families themselves were welcomed with enthusiasm, it was also to include selected immigrants with associations with the Manawatu, regardless of how long these people lived here, and regardless of whether descendants could be found. These included the entire Scandinavian passenger lists on the 1870-71 voyages of the *Celaeno* and *England*. 'Skandia II' was also to place these biographies into the context of Scandinavian immigration to New Zealand and into the development of Palmerston North. The biographies were to tell a story where possible, not only of the people concerned, but also aspects of the district's history - and sometimes the country's history. Had only those families who stayed in the area been covered, we may have just presented those unable to escape, rather than those who chose to stay!

The generosity of descendants in sharing their information has underpinned the development of this book. As such, it has always been a delight to be able to return that favour by passing back other information on their various forebears which turned up in the course of preparing the book, usually in the old newspapers. Occasionally these discoveries have confirmed that some ancestor [including several of the writer's ancestors] was only human. However, any indiscretions were very minor, especially by 1990s standards.

While many of the families covered in this book have never had their histories recorded before, let alone published, others have been researched in detail over many years. It is regretted that some families known to have descendants living in New Zealand, could not be located to check or add to their portion of this book. [Note: The writer would still be delighted to hear from them.] Thus stories have been verified where possible, but this is obviously very difficult. Fortunately, given the similar experiences, some family stories interweave with others, or with early newspaper reports, and these provide guidelines.

Researching a book such as this is fraught with difficulties, especially when descendants are not found. Even if descendants were located, the Scandinavian Vogel Scheme immigrants rarely left diaries and other records of their experiences. Theoretically, most should have been literate in their native languages as education was important in the Scandinavian countries, yet some proved unable to even sign their names. They were hard-working, with little leisure time for writing. When they did write, it was usually in their native language and in a letter to be posted home to friends and relatives. Few of these precious records would therefore be available to their own descendants. Thus the most valuable resource left with descendants is often oral history, and this is always selective history and subject to misinterpretation.

Given the lack of resources which were created, let alone surviving now, it is most fortunate that Palmerston North has some of its earliest newspapers. Most important in terms of its Scandinavian content is the 'Manawatu Times' [1877-1881, 1883-1884], while the 'Manawatu (Evening) Standard' [1883-mid-1886], Foxton's 'Manawatu Herald' [from 1878, minus some years in the 1880s] and the 'Feilding Star' [from 1882] also provide valuable information. While the latter two newspapers are indexed for their own local content, none are indexed for Palmerston North content. Thus with no newspaper indexes covering Palmerston North prior to 1900, searching the microfilms page-by-page required considerable time - and at time of printing this has only reached 1886.

In terms of their place in published histories of Scandinavians in New Zealand, any mention of Manawatu's first Scandinavian settlers usually begins with accounts of Bishop Monrad, followed by a few sentences covering the *Celaeno* and *England*. The Manawatu is then 'overwhelmed' by stories from the main areas of Scandinavian settlement. It is hoped that this study will help restore some balance between the Scandinavians in the Manawatu and their compatriots over the Ranges. However, given the availability and range of resources used in this book compared to earlier histories - including access to those histories - it is also a concern that the pendulum should not swing too far in the other direction. The Manawatu's Scandinavian population was far smaller than that which settled in the Seventy-Mile Bush. They also had more opportunity, and need, to integrate with the British population. The growth of Palmerston North also had its benefits, with the considerable profits from selling the little Scandinavian Block farms being an early example. Still, as both this book and its predecessor reveal, Manawatu did have its full share of 'poor Scandinavians' in addition to its handful of supposedly 'rich Scandinavians'. Evidently the few in the latter category were the ones most visible to the less well-to-do Scandinavians who were struggling to establish themselves in the Seventy-Mile Bush.

Palmerston North had an important position in the history of Scandinavian settlement in New Zealand and, while easily the best documented in the past, the valuable contribution of the Monrad family must be assessed alongside the considerably more extensive contribution to - and influence over - the immigrants, the town [especially Terrace End], the district, and later even the Southern Hawkes Bay, of the large sawmilling and flourmilling company, Richter, Nannestad & Co. (q.v.), its owners, and the companies it spawned.

Similarly, while their numbers of passengers were small compared to later ships, when the *Celaeno* and *England* reached New Zealand almost 125 years ago their cargoes of Scandinavian immigrants were the first of many thousands of assisted immigrants from Britain and other European nations to arrive under the Vogel Scheme. Representing the three main Scandinavian countries, these first immigrants were especially valued by the New Zealand Government. They were part of an experiment, intended to draw others of their compatriots to these shores. That extra consideration was received from the Government may not, however, have been fully appreciated by them at the time.

Surveying and public works had been underway around Palmerston, as it was then known, since the mid-1860s. This, combined with the comparatively rapid development of railways through the Manawatu, made the experience of the 1871 immigrants much easier than that experienced later in Wairarapa and Southern Hawkes Bay. Even so, in early 1871 Palmerston consisted of one small hotel, a few huts and tents, and almost nothing else - except mosquitoes, water, swamp, scrub, forest and more mosquitoes.

The future city of Palmerston North progressed rapidly - like a mushroom, to use an 1877 description - while the other Scandinavian villages were fated never to develop beyond rural service centres. Palmerston North was not at first planned to be much different, and certainly the businessmen of Foxton did not wish to relinquish the status their town was acquiring as its river port developed. A city might develop in Manawatu some day, but from which little village? Feilding [established 1874] and twin 'paper townships' of Mugby Junction and Bunnythorpe were also contenders.

The transformation of Palmerston North began with the tramway between Palmerston North and Foxton. Built with the help of the Scandinavians, it was completed in 1873 even though the wooden tracks restricted the tramway to horse-drawn trams. The completion of the tramway meant that Palmerston North's timber could now be shipped around the country, while people could now travel to the town in relative luxury. In 1876, the tramway was replaced by an iron-tracked railway and locomotives, the lines reaching Feilding the same year and then Wanganui in 1878. This provided more markets for timber and other produce from the upper Manawatu. Prior to the opening of flourmills at Palmerston North, Feilding and Sandon in 1878, most of the upper Manawatu's farm produce was perishable. As a result, it had only been saleable locally and consequently it was also subject to seasonal gluts. (MT 11/5/1878) In addition to the advantages gained from the railway, the fact that the roads from Feilding, the Rangitikei, Hawkes Bay and Foxton all met at Palmerston North further enhanced the town's growing importance - in spite of the fact that the usefulness of these newly-formed roads was often influenced by bad weather.

Originally the Manawatu-Hawkes Bay railway had been planned to go directly to Mugby Junction [the eastern half of present-day Bunnythorpe], thus by-passing Palmerston North. It was to run alongside Napier Road from the Manawatu Gorge, before diverting through Las Lassen's property on the corner of Napier Road and Stoney Creek Road - much to his dismay in early 1872. It was then to follow Stoney Creek Road to Mugby Junction, and this was to be the district's main railway junction. The decision was finally made in 1884 to run the line into Palmerston North instead, and this sealed the fate of Mugby Junction to be just a name in history books, and Bunnythorpe to be a rural service village although it is now gaining from its close proximity to Palmerston North. (MT 25/3/1884, 12/11/1884; see J.T. Stewart's map of the 1871-2 route with Las Lassen's biography)

The public works and the timber industry underpinned the development of Palmerston North during its formative years. The presence of the tramway/railway and then the demand for railway sleepers throughout the country at-

tracted sawmillers to the district, including Richter, Nannestad & Co. While this and other sawmilling businesses were not always thriving and always had a limited life expectancy, they provided employment during the early years, especially when the public works schemes in the immediate district ended in 1876. (MT 31/3/1877) Thus an economic buffer was provided as the town developed a substitute economy based on farming, with the railways once again being the key to the success of this transformation.

In contrast, immigrants to the main areas of Scandinavian settlement - Southern Hawkes Bay and Wairarapa - found a very different situation to their Manawatu compatriots. Instead of a partially navigable river and a 'mere' 10 miles to cart their worldly goods, mud permitting, these people found themselves in isolated communities deep within the towering forests of what was then called the Seventy-Mile Bush. Many were fated to begin their new life in the 'Scandinavian Camp' at what is now Kopuaranga, as they were unable to get near their land due to the dense bush and the time required to survey land only recently purchased from the Maori.

Roadworks occupied these settlers for a while, but the railways needed to boost their region were still many years away. The line from Napier had only reached Waipukurau by 1876, thereafter reaching Makotuku [thus by-passing Norsewood] in 1880, Tahoraiti [via Dannevirke] in 1884 and the temporary end of the line at Woodville in 1887. The line moving up from Wellington, through the Wairarapa, crawled even more slowly. It reached Featherston in 1878, Masterton in 1880, Mauriceville in 1886, Eketahuna in 1889 and finally Woodville in 1897. The section from Woodville, through the Manawatu Gorge, to Palmerston North had been opened in 1891. (AJHR 1900 D-1: 113)

Considerable dissatisfaction had resulted from the predicament these people found themselves in. Small wonder that, while facing the loss of their 'off-farm' employment, and having already been by-passed by the railway, the entire Scandinavian population of Norsewood considered emigrating en masse to the United States in 1881. (MT 26/3/1881)

'Mosquitoes & Sawdust' looks at the circumstances which influenced Scandinavian migration to New Zealand and endeavours to put this migration out of Europe into a global context. From there it looks at the actual migration process of the *Celaeno* and *England* passengers, their voyage and arrival in New Zealand, their journey to Palmerston North and their introduction to the Rangitane people. Wherever possible this has been done using the words of the immigrants themselves.

The biographies have often been used to illustrate some particular location or activity the subject family was involved with. For instance, Laurits Gulbrandsen's accident in the metal pit at Terrace End reveals both the park's former use and the handling of a very serious head injury. Hans Olsson's records of many years spent working in the Manawatu Gorge provide a valuable history of that important section of road. Rasmus Jensen's Pahiatua Track work, Anders Ihle's bridges, Carl Andersson's milking machines, Victor Langkjer's observatory and Charlie Neilson's ill-fated ketch *Amateur*, are of general historical significance. The Danish Consul, C.J. Toxward, the Vice-Consul Charles Dahl, and the Danish Vice-Consulate in Palmerston North, are other stories of note.

Women's history has proved much harder to research, but fortunately many families recall stories which reveal some aspects of the lives of their female forebears. While the multi-lingual school teacher turned shopkeeper, Frine Ida Jorgensen, probably left the best documentary evidence [1870-1883], Ragnhild Hansen's domestic life is possibly the most detailed in terms of oral history. However, the many snippets which have survived help to give an overall impression of life for these women. These snippets deal with everything from a favourite food or activity, to em-

ployment [paid and unpaid], marital problems, and the consequences of their premature deaths.

Other topics of interest are a brief account of Richter, Nannestad & Co., the religious activities of Scandinavians, Terrace End Cemetery, and legislation which had specific

relevance to Scandinavians, especially the Registration of Aliens Act of 1917. The reaction of the non-British immigrant population to this Act proves that there really was something substantial behind those vague family stories of persecution and paranoia during World War One.



The best ally of the settler-farmer in the New Zealand bush was a good, sharp axe! These two photos, which were almost certainly taken in the Seventy-Mile Bush, tell something of life in former bush country about a generation after Pakeha settlement commenced there. The roads and buildings were certainly somewhat more substantial by then.

The woman posing with her meat cleaver and mutton, her son or brother, and their pets, has taken hygiene as far as a spotless apron. The kete bag indicates that the family has had some contact with the local Maori people. The bullocky and his team (below) are framed by a typical scene of decimation as the native bush succumbs to farmland. The settler felled an area of bush, then, once the summer heat had dried it sufficiently, the bush was set alight in what was ideally a controlled burn-off. Grass seed was then sown in the ashes. The burnt stumps and logs which survived the fire might be left to eventually rot away, especially in difficult terrain such as this.

The glass-plate negatives from which these photos derive, were amongst a box-full of negatives which accidentally survived a trip to the Palmerston North Dump. Unfortunately 4 or 5 other boxes of these treasures were not so lucky. Their new owner, Bruce Harding, of Palmerston North, would be delighted to identify the people or locations in the collection. Some were clearly taken in the Pahiatua area, while vehicles and army badges indicate that they were taken between about 1900 and the 1920s. Bruce may be contacted c/- the Scandinavian Club of Manawatu, P.O. Box 84, Palmerston North.



2

EMIGRANTS AND IMMIGRANTS

To comprehend immigration into New Zealand in the 1870s, as it affected Scandinavians, it is necessary to look further than just those who came to New Zealand. Separating from families and heritage, and emigrating to the opposite side of the world in a slow, uncomfortable sailing ship, was not something to be taken lightly. What inspired them to take this step?

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION - Changes dating from the 18th century caused the pressures which eventually saw millions of people migrate out of Europe in the 19th century. Improvements in food production, handling and distribution, a greater knowledge of health care and improved living conditions led to a drop in child mortality. Thus children who would otherwise have become 'wastage' grew up and had families of their own. Wars also impacted less heavily on civilian populations, being fought between armies instead of roving bands who lived off the land. The drop in mortality resulting from such changes led to a dramatic population increase in Europe.

During the 19th century, migration became an increasingly attractive means of escaping the resulting population pressures, with the United States being the main destination. Accordingly, world emigration trends ebb and flow in response to the economic and social health of the United States. New Zealand's so-called Vogel Immigration Scheme of the 1870s peaked when the United States was in an economic depression and thus temporarily unattractive as a destination. Had this not been the case, the Vogel Scheme's results would have been very different. Even so, most would-be emigrants stayed home until the United States economy improved in the late 1870s. New Zealand responded to the United States' recovery by spiralling into depression itself. As a result many disillusioned settlers re-emigrated, with the United States being a favoured destination for them also.

Between 1815 [the end of the Napoleonic Wars] and 1930 [the 'Great Depression'] more than 50 million people emigrated from Europe. Countries with the most emigrants over this 115 year period were: Britain - 11.4 million, Italy - 9.9 million and Ireland - 7.3 million. Scandinavian totals were: Sweden - 1.2 million, Norway - 0.8 million and Denmark - 0.4 million. Dudley Baines, in his book 'Emigration From Europe 1815-1930' (p. 7,9,28), calculates that these numbers translate to only 3 people emigrating per 1,000, per year, of the total European population.

In contrast, nearer to 60 million people arrived at the various receiving countries, with 32.6 million travelling directly to the United States. Another 2.5 million arrived there via Canada, which itself retained a further 4.7 million. Australia received 3.5 million. (Baines: 8) Between 1860 and 1929, New Zealand had 1.7 million arrivals and 1.2 departures - a nett gain of half a million people. (McLintock, Vol. 2: 132)

The terms 'emigrant' and 'immigrant' were rather loosely defined and people were easily mis-classified. Many travelled via a third country and became 'lost' to record keepers in the process - including the Danes on both voyages of the *England*. The devious Danish agent incorrectly [illegally] described them as 'tourists' bound for England, which was not quite what Danish officialdom had in mind. In fact, Danish emigration records do not list any New Zealand-bound emigrants until 1873. (letter 2/8/1992, Danes Worldwide Archives to VAB) Possibly those who abandoned New Zealand in the 1880s were mis-classified also.

J.W. Davidson, in his thesis 'The Scandinavians in New Zealand' (p. 144), found that in 1874 only 950 emigrants were recorded as leaving Denmark for all non-European countries except the United States, and only 329 in 1875. Yet 473 Danes arrived in New Zealand in 1873-4, followed by 640 in 1874-5 and 367 in 1875-6. Similarly in 1873-4, 212 Swedes arrived here, followed by 291 in 1874-5 and 149 in 1875-6, yet only 136 emigrants were recorded as leaving Sweden in 1874 for 'Oceania, Asia and Africa', with a further 47 in 1875. The Norwegian emigration figures were not given, but 18 arrived in New Zealand in 1873-4, 29 in 1874-5 and 80 in 1875-6.

Technological improvements, especially steamships which were faster and more comfortable than sailing ships, influenced migration in the second half of the 19th century. Fares also decreased as time spent at sea was reduced. For example, in 1870 the steamer fare from Norway to New York cost £7 or £10 to Chicago. Deck accommodation on a sailing ship to New York, cost about £3, plus provisions. Once in the United States, overland fares were about £3. (AJHR, 1871, D-3A: 1-2) The fare to New Zealand cost far more as it included the expenses of several months at sea - and thus several months away from paid employment. New Zealand could never compete on such terms.

Other technological improvements included railway networks, which were opening the interiors of the main receiving countries, while from 1866, the trans-Atlantic cable provided potential immigrants, via newspapers, with up-to-date information which helped them decide the best time to emigrate. As part of Julius Vogel's master plan for New Zealand in the 1870s, the country was connected to the cable network in 1876. Prior to this, New Zealand had access to Australia's cable, via the trans-Tasman steamer service, once that cable was operating.

CAUSES OF EMIGRATION IN 19TH CENTURY SCANDINAVIA - There is a strong tradition of land-ownership in Scandinavia, even though farms were often very small. For example, Norway's farms were mostly less than five acres. (Branigan: 110) Feudalism had been discouraged in Scandinavia, both by geography and by legislation. (Mead: 158; O'Dell: 122,189,224) Thus when Scandinavia's arable land could no longer meet the requirements of an increasing population, many of the disaffected were drawn to the vast regions being opened up in the United States. Many settled in Minnesota and Wisconsin. (Mead: 77) Even the 10-acre blocks promised by New Zealand's agents in 1870, seemed attractive until the *Celaeno* immigrants were put straight when they reached Wellington.

At first the Scandinavian countries attempted to accommodate their surplus populations by land reclamation and by clearing forestland. By these means, Sweden's arable area trebled during the period between 1800 and 1870, (O'Dell: 121) yet Sweden lost a very significant percentage of its population to emigration.

Norway's steep slopes, poor soils and moist climate mean that over half of its land area is above 2,000 feet (600 metres), and only 3.2% of its surface can be cultivated. As a result its economy has been dominated by the livestock industries, while the steepness of land has limited the mechanisation of farms in some areas. By the end of the 19th century, one-seventh of all Norwegian-born persons were living in North America. (O'Dell: 223,227; Branigan: 110)

Being comparatively flat, Denmark had the easiest means of the three Scandinavian countries to solve its land-hunger. Between 1866 and 1896, 2.4 million acres of Danish moorland was halved. By 1940, only 0.5 million acres of moorland remained. (O'Dell: 190) Thus the Danes had far less reason to consider emigration than the Swedes and Norwegians, despite comprising about half of the Scandinavian component of New Zealand's Vogel Scheme.

It was Prussia which inspired many of the Danes to emigrate. Not only had Prussia seized Schleswig-Holstein in 1864, but it also won the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871, cementing the situation. The war effectively ended in January 1871. On February 4th [indicating the speed with which news reached New Zealand then], Viggo Monrad wrote from Karere to the New Zealand Government regarding the defeat. He suggested that land be set aside for Danes "as now, more than ever, since Denmark's hope of safety has been defeated with France", many Danes might be induced to emigrate to New Zealand. (NA: IM 6/7/1)

This new dilemma in Europe fitted nicely into New Zealand's immigration strategy. In addition to anxious Danes whose districts had not been over-run, many from Schleswig-Holstein were desperate to escape forced suppression of their traditional nationality, language and culture, as well as potential conscription into the Prussian army. Many Prussian labouring and farming families who came to New Zealand around this time were also from areas Prussia had over-run over the years, including what is now Poland. Probably they left for similar reasons to the Danes. In New Zealand, intermarriage between these groups was not uncommon.

Even those who could obtain farmland in Scandinavia struggled in the face of international pressures during the 19th century. Growing populations and potential markets in other countries had seen a drive in Scandinavia, as elsewhere, toward greater rural efficiency. A number of reforms involving land ownership had taken place to this effect. All three countries initially concentrated on grain production, mainly supplying the increasingly urban population of Britain, only to have this market disappear when America and Russia began large-scale grain exports to Britain and Europe - at prices which were below the cost of Scandinavian production. The Scandinavian countries next turned to raising livestock for export, despite their stock having to be wintered indoors and hand-fed at considerable cost. However, the beef export industry also vanished when new refrigeration technology allowed the shipping of grass-fed meat from the Americas. From there, those who had not given up and emigrated in disgust, turned, with far greater success, to the dairy industry. The Scandinavian countries, especially Denmark, have been responsible for many innovations appreciated by New Zealand. [See also the interview with Las Lassen.]

Despite all the trials which seemingly 'pushed' millions to migrate, including the Scandinavians, it is important to note Baines' calculation (p. 28) that an average of only 3 people per thousand, per year emigrated from Europe between 1815 and 1930. This means an average of 997 people per thousand, per year remained in Europe. Things might have been bad enough to drive some people out of Europe, but they had to choose to leave - and more importantly, they had to be in a position to act upon that choice.

Large-scale emigration from Scandinavia had effectively ended by 1914, as the home countries had increased in prosperity. Industrialisation in the latter 19th century created jobs which absorbed people who might otherwise have emigrated. (O'Dell: 516) Furthermore, with the open-border policy of the recent Maastricht Treaty, and the right of Danes in Schleswig-Holstein to exercise their culture and language, even the old animosities toward the 'dreaded Prussian' seem increasingly to be part of a colonial 'time-warp'. (letter: 13/6/1993, Treve Erdmenger, Braunschweig, Germany, to VAB)

A CASE STUDY - EMIGRATION FROM ODALEN, NORWAY - Censuses of the agricultural district of Odalen, in Hedmark county, Norway, where a number of the Celaeno passengers originated, reveal that the district's population doubled from 3,450 in 1815, to 7,118 in 1865. This area had poor soil and all available farmland had been taken up. By 1875, Odalen's population had fallen to 6,834 people, coinciding with a dramatic increase in Norwegian emigration, especially between 1866 and 1873 - the years between the American Civil War and the onset of the major depression in that country. ('Skandia I': Introduction; A. Enderud: 28; Troseid: 168)

The little farms in Sor-Odal, part of Odalen, were leased on an annual basis, renewable every April 1st. The land-owner has not been named in the sources used here. In lieu of rent, the tenants worked a 6-day week for the landlord, spending the remaining day - Sunday - attending the compulsory church services and working their own land. It was virtually impossible for large families to make a living under such circumstances. (Mac Larsen: 9)

Arvid Gronvold, of the Norwegian newspaper 'Glamdalen', researched emigration to New Zealand from parishes within that paper's readership. His preferred source was the State Archives in Oslo [Statsarkivet i Oslo], although he felt this archive might not be 100% correct as not all who emigrated also registered as doing so. Church archives were less reliable as they included people who changed their minds at the last minute. Gronvold's findings were later published by Norwegian historian, Hans Marius Troseid, in his article 'Litt om Utvandringen til New Zealand' [A Little about Emigration to New Zealand], published in the September 1974 edition of 'Solor-Odal' (p. 168).



'Pasotorpet', the farmlet in the forest at Grue, Solor, close to the Odalen border, Norway. It was occupied between c1760s and 1873 by three generations of Johannesens - the maternal forebears of former Dannevirke writer, Johanna E. Olsen. The farmlet was surveyed in 1865 and found to contain 1 horse, 4 cows, 4 sheep, 14 goats, a sixteenth of a barrel of rye, 1 barrel of barley, a quarter of a barrel of oats and 3 barrels of potatoes. The large Johannesen family also supplemented their diet by fishing. In 1873, Johannes Johannesen III emigrated on the Hovding with his wife Rangdi, 8 children, a son-in-law and a grandson. They were responding to letters glowing with praise from Rangdi's brother, Christopher Finsen, who had emigrated to Norsewood the previous year. No-one lived at 'Pasotorpet' permanently after they left. This old cottage, part of one built by the family, was used for many years by foresters as a stable for their horses. It was demolished in 1945. (Sources: J.E. Olsen c1977: 45,50-54; and Troseid: 171. Photo: Hans Marius Troseid, Slastad, Norway)

Troseid estimated that about 200 people left this area for New Zealand during this period, rather than the 165 on record. Very few left for New Zealand outside the years 1870 to 1875, while even after 1873, this emigration mostly involved relatives of the earlier emigrants. In 1874 the Scandinavian Wesleyan lay preacher, Edward Nielson, left Sor-Odal, where he had been working, bound for New Zealand.

Over time, contact broke down between those in New Zealand and their relatives back in Norway, possibly as the common language was lost. The Norwegian relatives, many of whom are still in the home district, then forgot their New Zealand links. Similarly, emigrants may have tried to forget their impoverished backgrounds and thus descendants have frequently been left to recreate their own vision of their ancestors' early lives - often incorrectly, as Troseid has found.

NUMBERS OF EMIGRANTS IN THE 'GLAMDALLEN'S' READERSHIP AREA WHO CAME TO NEW ZEALAND.

Parish	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	Total
Valer			5				5
Grue			6	14		1	21
Brandval	4						4
Vinger			2	1			3
Eidskog			1	5			6
Sor-Odal	15	15	23	15	5	11	84
Nord-Odal		1		5			6
Nes	16	14	1	5			36
	35	30	38	45	5	12	165
Total Norwegian							
Emigration:	14,838	12,276	13,865	10,352	4,601	4,048	
[per 1000 of							
mean population]	8.55	7.04	7.90	5.86	2.58	2.24	
(from Enderud: 28)							

[NOTE: Odalen includes Sor-Odal (South-Odal) and Nor-Odal (North Odal). ALSO: Mac Larsen's list of ships which carried Scandinavians is published in the *Scandinavian Club of Hawkes Bay's* book, 'Links with the Past: Scandinavians in New Zealand', page 76-7.]

FARVEL SCANDINAVIA, MAYBE! - Emigrants were rarely a cross-section of the population they were leaving, although Norwegian groups were said to prefer moving in whole communities, or to use one description - as "whole church-going congregations". (AJHR 1871, D-3A: 2) Generally though, it was the young adults, especially males, who made this move, while children and older people were significantly under-represented. In New Zealand this age and sex imbalance, mainly a legacy of the 1860s Gold Rushes, was responsible for the many elderly unmarried men who eventually needed old age pensions and 'old men's homes' to sustain them. Biographies of some in these situations appear in this book.

Traditionally, farms were handed on to eldest sons while remaining sons became crofters. (Mac Larsen: 9) Thus Scandinavians who migrated were more likely to be the younger sons [and their families] of poor rural families. In earlier generations this situation would have been alleviated by greater child mortality. However, as numbers increased there was little choice for many but to move elsewhere in search of work, usually to urban areas in their homelands. Having made one major step in their lives, the next - out of their homeland - was easier to make. In the case of the Norwegians, those who emigrated were chiefly agricultural labourers or small farmers. Very few went from the towns. The birthplaces of Swedish-born children of Swedish families who came to New Zealand are recorded in Sten Aminoff's book 'Svenskarna i Nya Zeeland'. These reveal that many of these families moved around Sweden prior to emigrating.

There were other restrictions in place in Scandinavia which put pressure on some members of the community. For example, education and the Lutheran Church were bound together in Scandinavia. In Norway, and no doubt the other Scandinavian countries, education was compulsory. Yet despite this, there were some on the *Celaeno* and England who could not write their names. The New Zealand Government was told in 1870 that Norwegian children under-went a special examination when they were about 16. They had to pass this test before they could be confirmed. If they failed, they were obliged to remain at school

until they did pass. If they were not confirmed, they could not marry and also faced other restrictions. (AJHR 1871, D-3A: 2)

Scandinavian men also had to be able to support a wife and family before they could marry. Although it has been said that in parts of Norway, at least, there was nothing unusual about a child or two being born to a couple prior to marriage, the Church disapproved. There was apparently an attitude [amongst men?] that a woman must prove HER fertility first, so the would-be father could be guaranteed of children to care for HIM in his old age. Norwegian men were said to be very chauvinistic, but to have almost invariably stayed with their wives once married. (Mac Larsen: 30 - referring to Sor-Odal) The days of this attitude were numbered though, as the mid-1800s saw the beginnings of the women's movement in Norway. Women in the other Scandinavian countries soon followed suit. (K. Larsen: 447; Derry: 262) The Scandinavian women who came to Palmerston North are not recalled as timid or oppressed, but neither were they recognised as activists for women's rights. [see Women's Franchise]

Given the social and economic conditions to be met before couples could marry, the sudden opportunity to emigrate to New Zealand, at virtually no cost, was eagerly grabbed by some couples - regardless of the uncertainties New Zealand presented. This led to a rush to the altar by at least five couples who boarded the *Celaeno*. There were also some rather short pregnancies! Hans Olsson, from the *England*, left a fiancée and child in Sweden. He intended to send for them later, but the relationship broke down.

THE VOGEL IMMIGRATION AND PUBLIC WORKS SCHEME - New Zealand was yet to find an economic base as it approached the 1870s. Its export markets were restricted by distance, while the warfare of the 1860s had also proven extremely expensive. New Zealand's problems had been compounded by the return of the United States to the textile and immigrant market after the end of that country's Civil War. To help alleviate these problems, the New Zealand Government wanted to open up the densely-bushed central North Island and to establish a road, rail and telegraph network through this region. There was also a desire to place large numbers of settlers in the North Island, to counter the large Maori population there. However, New Zealand could not do these things with its existing population and means.



Sir Julius Vogel [1835-1899], journalist, politician, twice New Zealand's Premier [1873-1875, 1876], and also the man who devised what became the Vogel Immigration and Public Works Scheme. (Palmerston North Public Library)

When Julius Vogel became Colonial Treasurer in the Fox Ministry in 1869, he adopted a bold expansionist policy aimed at solving New Zealand's problems. He intended that the Government should purchase large areas of Maori land for European settlement, and that thousands of assisted immigrants would be brought in to do the various public works. All this was to be financed by huge overseas loans; by paying for labour with land grants; and from the increases in government revenue which would result from this expansion. He originally proposed a loan of £10 million, a sum which was to be exceeded dramatically.

The result of Vogel's efforts was the Immigration and Public Works Act which was adopted in September 1870,

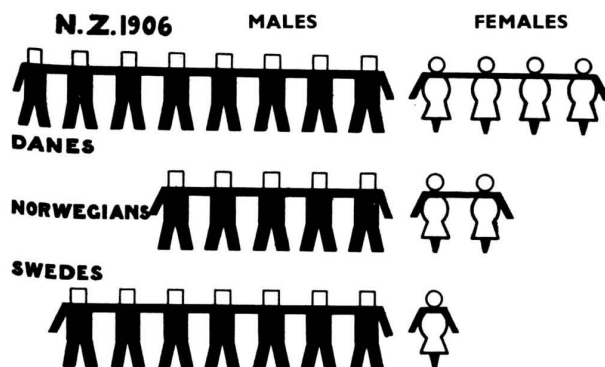
despite the fact that it required co-operation between the General Government and the Provincial Governments. When getting this co-operation proved an irritation, a second Act was passed in 1871 which enabled the General Government to act alone. These Acts came to be known as the Vogel Scheme.

WHY SCANDINAVIANS? - Faced with vast quantities of bush, and now the means to import labourers to clear this bush, the New Zealand Government set about deciding where to get immigrants with the necessary skills and ability to handle the conditions. Although Britain has always been the preferred source of New Zealand's immigrants, British labourers were not experienced in forestry clearance. At first Canada was considered as a source of settlers with forestry skills but that scheme was not proceeded with. (Petersen, 1956: 10)

From there the Government turned to Swedes and Norwegians who were also noted as forest workers, for their ability to live in a cold, harsh environment, for their overall level of education and for their willingness to emigrate, albeit to America. As the Monrad family had already proven the ability of Scandinavians to work in the New Zealand bush, the Scandinavian option was amongst those taken up.

Recruiting Scandinavians under the Vogel Scheme began around July and August of 1870 when Doctor Featherston visited Norway, Sweden, Denmark and North Germany on behalf of the New Zealand Government. Although the Immigration and Public works Act was not yet passed, Featherston felt that if steps were not taken to begin recruiting emigrants then, the whole purpose of going there would be lost. (AJHR 1871, D-3A: 6) Thus the Scandinavians who boarded the *Celaeno* and *England* a few weeks later became the first immigrants under the Vogel Scheme - even though Featherston had not been instructed to recruit them. He had correctly assumed the Act would be passed.

Between 1871 and 1880, by which time the scheme was over, more than 100,000 assisted or nominated immigrants had arrived in New Zealand, with numbers peaking in 1874. (McLintock: 133) By far the majority were British, although recruiting drives there were largely unsuccessful until 1872. Almost 8,000 people arrived from Europe during the 1870s and 1880s. They included 3,185 Germans, 2,009 Danish, 743 Norwegians and 727 Swedish. (McLintock: 136) As far as Scandinavians and Germans were concerned, however, immigration assistance under the Vogel Scheme had ended in 1876. Vogel considered that British immigrants of a suitable type could be obtained in sufficient numbers by that time.



J. Lyng, in *'The Scandinavians in Australia, New Zealand and the Western Pacific'*, presented this view of the gender ratio of Scandinavian immigrants in New Zealand, as at the 1906 Census. The 2,277 Danes comprised 1,526 males and 751 females; the 1,396 Norwegians comprised 1,032 males and 364 females; while the Swedes comprised 1,412 males and 206 females. This was the peak year for all three nationalities.

The "over-ambitious and extravagant" Vogel Scheme became a casualty of the noticeable recession which developed in 1876. (McLintock: 133) Unemployment began to appear in 1875, and certainly the public works ended around Palmerston North in 1876. The country was in deep depression by the early 1880s. While this may have been intensified by the economic policy of the 1870s, the true cause was a world-wide depression, "and New Zealand suffered because it was part of a world-wide economic community." ('NZ Heritage', Vol. 3: 1014)

[FOOTNOTE: The Vogel Scheme is covered in detail in W.D. Borrie's 'Immigration to New Zealand 1854-1938' (Canberra, 1991), and R. Arnold's 'The Farthest Promised Land' (Wellington, 1981).]

NEW ZEALAND, WHERE'S THAT? - We tend to think that our 19th century forebears, wherever they originated, had some great insight when they selected New Zealand as their future home. The truth probably has more in common with what Anders H. Ihle's relative said when Ihle suggested he accompany the Ihle family to New Zealand in 1870: "Do you think I'm crazy!" In fact, New Zealand's main appeal to would-be emigrants was the free or assisted passages the Government offered.

In the 1860s large numbers of would-be gold miners, predominantly single men, found their way to New Zealand, including Scandinavians such as Otto Tiller (q.v.). In the 1870s, most were attracted by conditions offered under the 'Vogel Scheme', with families and single women being the favoured classes of immigrant.

To the average Scandinavian in 1870, especially rural-dwellers, New Zealand was likely to be unknown. At best, they might know it was on the opposite side of the world with many frightening drawbacks and few redeeming features. Very few publications were available for study and those which were accessible were of a scientific or sensational nature. If they could obtain the material at all, they might study New Zealand's flora, fauna and Maori people - although in the latter case this information could possibly have a rather negative effect. F. von Hockstetter's 'Neu-Seeland', published in German in 1863, contained his observations and geographic research from a visit between 1858 and 1860. He also referred to cannibals! (AJHR 1874, D-58: 2-3) Certainly, amongst the *Celaeno* passengers, Anders Ihle knew that New Zealand was inhabited by 'man-eaters', while Gulbrand Hansen soon learned that there were wild animals, snakes and English people! The Danes may have fared a little better. Bishop Monrad had obviously survived, and members of his family were still at Karere.

One Swedish family began their journey to New Zealand without any opportunity to research their destination. Per Andersson Rosvall, his wife Caroline and their eight children thought they were bound for America. They had begun their journey via Denmark, and were at sea before the facts became clear. *The Queen of the North* sailed from London with the family aboard on 21 October 1873, about five weeks after the big American depression effectively began. Rosvall had been a soldier in the Queen's Hussars, until his leg was broken in a riding accident. Caroline was a trained nurse. They seem an unlikely couple to have begun their journey in such a haphazard manner. Their plight, if oral history has recorded it correctly, casts further doubt on the honesty of emigration agents. The 1870-1871 voyage of the *England* exposed a dubious Danish agent and possibly the Rosvalls had also been in contact with the same person. Caroline had heard terrible stories of the Maori people and was convinced they would eat her young children. She imagined the worst when a Maori welcoming party performed a haka on the waterfront as the *Queen of the North* arrived at Napier.

[FOOTNOTE: Despite the Rosvall family's unusual start and the loss at sea of their twin one-year-old son, August, who drank carbolic acid while his mother was on deck doing the washing,

the family became valued settlers at Makaretu. Caroline, who had about five more children, including a second August, tended both Maori and Pakeha at times of illness. She worked as far afield as Napier and Woodville, and is recalled walking through the bush at night in the line of her work, aided by a candle in a bottle. Neither she, nor her husband, ever learned to speak English. (Rosvall family source: Violet J. Cottam, Palmerston North; also Aminoff No. 2459, 2768-2775.)]

NEW ZEALAND CALLING - Baines (p. 33-8) considers that information from the receiving country was the key to much of the movement out of Europe between 1815 and 1930. This removed uncertainties confronting people who were probably making the most dramatic changes of their lives. When people in the home country received letters from newly-emigrated friends and relatives, the distance would seem more surmountable. The family stories in this book include a number of cases where chain migration occurred, including the Stenberg family, future in-laws of Hans Olsson. Newspapers from favoured destinations were another valuable source of information, although language problems remained a factor in rural Scandinavia where foreign publications were concerned. Letters and newspapers conveyed both good and bad reports, helping would-be emigrants decide when to go, even though families might down-play problems to avoid worrying relatives back home.

Other inducements came directly from those governments or organisations seeking immigrants [such as the New Zealand Company in the 1840s], or shipping companies seeking passengers. Well-placed individuals, or representatives of organisations such as trade unions, travelled around preaching the virtues of a country or district. In the 1870s, the New Zealand Government was helped in this manner with the recruitment of British immigrants by Britain's trade union movement.

Letters the sponsored immigrants sent home were of great importance to the New Zealand Government. Subsequent emigration was dependent on good reports. (AJHR 1871, D-3A: 6) An example of this was the letter written by an unknown *Celaeno* immigrant four weeks after he or she reached Palmerston North, which was later published in a Norwegian newspaper. The letter was cheerful, and not blatant propaganda, even though the group had been flooded out of their new 'houses' less than a week before it was written. This major disaster went unmentioned. The letter's reference to the friendly contact between the immigrants and the local Rangitane people has been interpreted as propaganda back in Norway. (Trosetid: 169) This assumption resulted from generalisations surrounding the various New Zealand Wars. In fact, the Rangitane fought on the New Zealand Government's side in the 1860s and welcomed European settlement amongst them, although their reasons for doing this were not so straightforward.

Although New Zealand publications and newspapers would have remained scarce in Scandinavia, there were at least attempts to open such a flow. When Hjalmar Graff was preparing to publish his short-lived Danish-language newspaper 'Skandia', in Palmerston North in 1875, he wrote to the Immigration Office in Wellington. He was applying, presumably without success, to become an immigration officer, as well as offering the services of his paper as an advertising medium to attract Scandinavian immigrants. He advised that his paper would "have a very large circulation at home in Norway, Sweden and Denmark where many an intending emigrant, through the perusal of my paper, would come out here instead of following the old current to America, because hitherto they have known little or nothing about New Zealand and have been rather prejudiced against it than otherwise on account of the Maoris (the Cannibals) and now they would see everything as it is and hear the truth." (letter dated 6/9/1875, reprinted in 'Hovding' No. 5, Nov. 1979: 11)

There is no evidence of interference to the 'propaganda' flow in Palmerston North, such as occurred in Norsewood



A treasured piece of memorabilia. Jens Rasmussen and his wife Boline Dorthe Andersen, at their home in Viby, Odense, Denmark, prior to Boline's death in 1881. Their son, Rasmus Jensen (q.v.), eventually settled at Longburn. (Valerie Hewitt)

following the arrival of the *Hovding* in September 1872. In that case, a New Zealand-based Swede, Bror Eric Friberg, had been sent to Norway by the New Zealand Government, to recruit Norwegians. The 354 people he brought back were the first settlers at Norsewood and Dannevirke, along with Danes from the *Ballarat*. (1) After walking for four days from Napier to their new 'homes', the immigrants were shocked by what they found. Friberg, who had been appointed the Government Agent and Postmaster at Norsewood, allegedly ensured that any negative letters did not get through. However, letters praising the district, which might encourage others to follow, did safely reach their destinations. These cheerful letters may have been 'encouraged' by Friberg. This devious activity worked as another 377 Norwegians arrived on the *Hovding* in December 1873. (2) (Trosetid: 170)

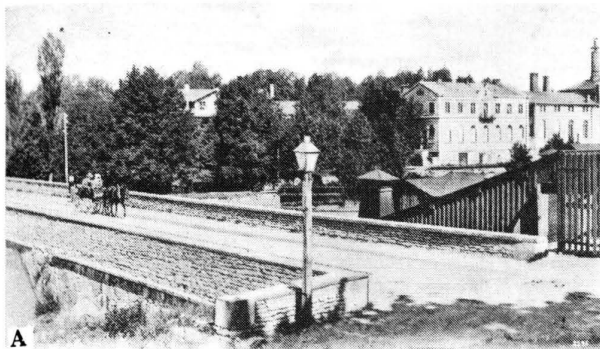
FOOTNOTES

- (1) *The names of Dannevirke and Norsewood had been selected by the organisers - and thus not the immigrants themselves - in the early stages of the recruitment drive. This was done to encourage recruitment. (AJHR, 1872 D-1: 4).*
- (2) *The first Hovding is often said to have been condemned when it returned from its 1872 voyage, with the 1873 Hovding being another ship. (Keesing: 6) However, Mac Larsen (p. 28) says that the Norwegian archives and New Zealand Government correspondence of the day contradict this.]*



Otto von Bismarck [1815-1896], prime minister of Prussia [1862-73, 1873-90] and founder and first chancellor [1871-90] of the German Empire, whose policies boosted the flow of Danish and 'Prussian' immigrants into New Zealand in the latter 19th century. (from Pflanze: frontpiece)

Letters from relatives back home were treasured by families in New Zealand, although over the generations the language, often the letters, and usually the contact were lost. The postcards shown here were treasures of the Dahlstrom family, of Roberts Line, Palmerston North, who arrived on the *Shakespear* in 1876. The postcard from Lyckeby, Carlskrona, Sweden [Photo a], was sent to Swedish-born Ola Persson Dahlstrom in June 1921, by his sister Johanna Johansson. In an earlier letter, dated August 1920, Johanna had included a note, in English, to the Dahlstroms' adopted daughter, Lydia. Johanna asked Lydia to take over writing should her brother become too feeble. "There is always somebody to translate (the letter)."



A

Lydia, the New Zealand-born daughter of *Celaeno* passengers Anders Christian Christensen and his Swedish-born wife, Marie, had married Sidney P. Burr in July 1913. The couple had then sent a piece of their wedding cake to Anna Nilsson, of Norway, and she included the postcard of the Norwegian winter scene [Photo b] when she replied in October 1913. Possibly Anna was Lydia's aunt by birth, as Lydia's father was Norwegian.



B

The family also received letters from Denmark [Mrs Perine Martine Dahlstrom was Danish], including two letters, dated 9 December 1907 and 15 December 1908, from Anna and George Rasmussen of Odense, who had returned from New Zealand. By December 1907, George had bought a share in his ailing mother-in-law's agricultural machinery factory, *Jernstøberiet og Maskinfabrikken 'Bolbro'*. Anna, who had probably been a Miss Mortensen, was very happy to be back with her family and was shortly to visit Mrs Dahlstrom's sister in Aarhus, to tell her of their visit to the Dahlstrom home at Kelvin Grove. However, by December 1908, George was complaining bitterly of what had turned out to be a bad investment in his mother-in-law's factory, of two large Danish banks collapsing, the Government collapsing, the Minister of Justice confessing to being a swindler, the murder of a farmer and his wife ["it was Russians (perhaps Jews) which caused the crime"], and then proceeded to criticise the Russians, Poles and Jews arriving in the country. "The farmers claim that they cannot get hand (sic) to work in the country of the native

Danish population, and therefore they import these ignorant and vicious foreigners". Unemployment was rife in Britain, "and in America it has been terrible, but it will soon right itself again over there." There was also much fear in Europe of re-armament. George wanted information on current employment conditions, land prices and the general state of New Zealand to help him choose between returning to New Zealand or going to Western Australia. His decision is unknown.

Letters from relatives who had settled in America were also received by the Dahlstrom family. Einar Just, nephew of Mrs Dahlstrom, whom he had never seen, was living in Newark, New Jersey, U.S.A., when on 14 October 1907, he sent Lydia the postcard showing Market and Broad Streets, Newark [Photo c]. "Don't it looks fine", (sic) he wrote on the back. Einar was working as a "lunchmann" at Lenox Lunch, a big lunch-room in Broad Street, where he



C

earned \$12.00 per week plus board. He had expressed an interest in meeting his Aunt, but was surprised and disappointed with the wages offered in New Zealand. "I thought they payed much higher wages so far away" (sic). Lydia had told him that the trip by steamer from San Francisco to Auckland took only three weeks. However, Einar advised that it took another three weeks to get from Newark to San Francisco - plus a lot of money for the ticket. He resigned himself to asking if the family would send him a photo of themselves.

(Sources: Val Burr; Vera L. McLennan-Boman; 'Skandia I': 23-26)



The Dahlstrom family of Lot 69 in the Stoney Creek Scandinavian Block [Roberts Line] around 1910 - or maybe 1907? From left: Perine Martine [1845-1918], Lydia [1880(adopted 1887)-1952] and Ola Persson [1842-1924]. At Perine's funeral, Rev. Mads Christensen reminded those there to mourn her that "when (Perine) was good she was very good, and when she was bad she was very bad." This latter description, unfortunately, is how many saw her, including Maja Cajs Andersen (q.v.). Perine's attitude seems to have been influenced by her childlessness at a time when large families were the norm; possibly by the couple's economic circumstances [they lived in their tiny split-slab shack for over 10 years]; and also by health problems, including asthma, especially as she aged. Their biography appears in 'Skandia I'. (Val Burr)

FARVEL NEW ZEALAND - Baines (p. 39-40) estimates that 25% of Europeans who emigrated between 1815 and 1930 later returned to Europe, and that about 20% of Norwegians, Danes, Swedes and Finns did so. He cites as a major cause improvements in transportation, especially steamships which plied the Atlantic from the 1860s, and plied directly between New Zealand and Europe from 1883. (Brett: 214)

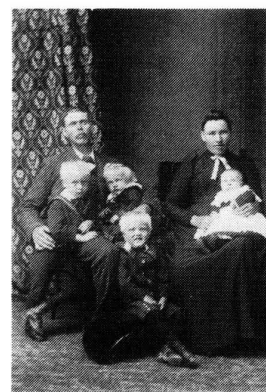
A few people in this study visited their homelands, some more than once, including businessmen, Charles Dahl and C.J. Toxward, and dairyfarmer, Las Lassen. Frederick Andersen, Gustav Kindberg and Jens Gutsen Poulsen also went back, while Johan Andreassen possibly did so. Carl Bergersen visited the United States at least. Sometimes wives were left to mind farms and families in New Zealand. One industrious widow, Ida Coldstream, worked her passage back to Norway as a stewardess on a ship.

Probably some emigrants always intended to return to Europe despite the distance. One was the somewhat disillusioned man Las Lassen met during his 1907 visit to Denmark. Buick (p. 309) describes another, apparently from the *Celaeno*, who went back after "years of lucrative labour" in New Zealand. Soon after purchasing some property where he could live out his days, a band of soldiers decided to quarter themselves at his new home. After rushing back to the security of Palmerston North "more satisfied than ever with his lot," he plaintively told a friend that the soldiers had "eat mine bread, they eat mine pig, and they eat me out of the house."

The economic depression of the early 1880s saw the departure of many disillusioned would-be settlers, including Torkil and Kari Gundersen (q.v.) who headed for the United States. Not all prospered there. Charles and Marie Rosenthal [nee Max], from Germany, left Palmerston North not long after 22 July 1881, the date their son Johan was born. The Rosenthals were still en route to Salt Lake City, Utah, when Marie died at Denver, Colorado, on 7 October 1881 [aged 28 or 36]. Her bereft family promptly returned to Palmerston North. Charles Rosenthal later married Pauline Bufo, whose first husband was killed in the Roberts Line well accident. [see the Callesen extended family story] (MT 23/11/1881, 28/11/1881; J. Rosenthal's Birth Cert.) Carl Andreas and Anne Andersen (q.v.) followed the Gundersens [their relatives] to California in the early 1890s, but did not stay either. They were assisted back to New Zealand several years later with funds raised in Norway.

Some background to the departures of the early 1880s appeared on 26 March 1881, when the 'Manawatu Times' reported that the Scandinavian settlement at Norsewood was to be abandoned. The entire group was to emigrate to the United States as a body, the article said. The United States Government had already agreed to transport them

An unknown family from the C.A. Andersen family album, who were almost certainly from Sor-Odal, Norway. (Palmerston North City Archives)



into the interior of that country, although probably they had to pay their own fares across the Pacific.

The propaganda arm of that country revealed itself as one John S. Ferris, a "Native American" [!] of Napier. He wrote in support of this proposed mass-exodus from Norsewood, comparing the generosity of the United States with New Zealand's meagre offerings. The United States Government "gives each head of a family 160 acres of land and many other things that are not allowed the poor in these islands. The rich here own all the good land, have all the money, and have no need of the poor." (MT 2/4/1881)

Obviously Norsewood was not abandoned, but no doubt some who lived there departed as a result, just as the aforementioned Rosenthals may have. Probably many settled successfully the second time around, but unfortunately the success stories have proved hard to trace.

Many of the family stories recorded in this book reveal how these various things impacted on people's lives and livelihoods, before and after they emigrated. No doubt many wished they had never heard of New Zealand, especially in the early years. However, most could do little but try to make the best of their situation. Probably most fared better than if they had remained in their homelands. Certainly, Troseid (p. 171) states that those who emigrated from Sor-Odal, Norway, in the early 1870s, did not get rich in New Zealand, but did better than had they stayed in Norway. They also fared better than those who went to Australia. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to fairly contrast the lives of people who re-emigrated to the United States, with those who stayed in New Zealand. The only evidence available, that of the C.A. Andersen and Rosenthal families, is that when trouble struck in the United States, New Zealand was a wonderful place to rush back to.

(This section expands on an essay prepared for the Massey University History Department's 300-level paper 'New Zealand Demographic History to 1939', conducted by Dr. David Thomson. - VAB.)



Unknown early Palmerstonians from the C.A. Andersen Album, who were almost certainly Scandinavian and likely to be from the Celaeno and the England. (Palmerston North City Archives)

3

THE VOYAGE OF THE CELAENO

The Scandinavian immigrants on the *Celaeno* numbered only 18 couples, most with children, along with their unmarried interpreter - yet they and the England's passengers who arrived a few weeks later, were of special importance to the New Zealand Government. Their immigration was an experiment, both as the first of the Vogel Scheme immigrants and because they were 'foreigners'. The special importance of the *Celaeno* passengers as the very first of the Scandinavian immigration scheme continued to be recognised throughout their lives. Even the last surviving man [Berger Sorensen] and woman [Annie Andersen] were acknowledged as such in their respective obituaries.

Doctor Isaac Featherston, one of the New Zealand Commissioners, was exceeding his instructions when in July or August 1870 he requested that Winge & Co., a mercantile firm of high standing in Christiania, send out at least 10 young couples "before the present emigration season closed." The 1870 Immigration and Public Works Act under which these people were to come had not then been passed by the New Zealand Government. However, Featherston felt that his trip would be wasted if he did not take this step. Also, the emigration season traditionally closed at the end of October each year, as some ports iced up during the winter months, and did not reopen until the following April. (AJHR, 1871, D-3A: 5-6)

Thus between July and September 1870, Winge & Co. advertised in Norwegian newspapers seeking a small group of "strong" families who were willing to emigrate to New Zealand. One Sunday in September, an agent arrived in Odalen, about 50 miles north-east of Christiania. He timed his appearance to coincide with the end of the church service, when he was sure to have a captive audience. This would have been Ullern Church, at Sor-Odal, in Hedmark county.

Curious listeners were told that the voyage would cost them nothing and, as further bait, the agent said emigrants would receive 10 acres of land - freehold - when they arrived in New Zealand. In a homeland with very small farms, ten acres of their own sounded viable and generous. In exchange, the New Zealand Government required that the men do the same type of work they did in Norway. This included bush-felling, road-making, farming, bridge-building and anything else they could put their hands to. Any family could take up to two children. An interpreter was also to be arranged.

Anders Ihle recalled that what little they knew of New Zealand and its Maori population left them unenthused. However, the Agent said "*there are no man-eaters there now. You will find them [the Maori] a nice race of people.*" This, Ihle was later to say, proved correct.

Six families, totalling 15 people, agreed to emigrate from Ullern parish. These were the C.A. Andersen, Gundersen, Hansen, Ihle, N. Pedersen and Sorensen families. They were most likely friends, relatives or neighbours in that district. Certainly Anne Andersen and Kari Gundersen were sisters. A further six families - another 15 people - came from nearby Nes parish, at Romerike, in Akerhus county. These were the Christensen, Gulbrandsen, Johansen, Kjolstad, Olsen and Reinertsen [later spelt Reinersen] families. (Letter 22/10/1993: H.M. Troseid, Slstad, Norway to VAB) The remaining Norwegian families were the Bergersens [from Solor], the Boesens [from Christiania], the Christiansens [from Asak] and the J. Pedersens. The Berquists came from Sweden.



*The present Ullern [or Ulleren] Church, in Sor-Odal, Odalen, in Hedmark county, Norway, was built in 1868 and is the fourth or fifth church on this site. The first was probably built about 1100 AD and was certainly there by 1300 AD. After a service in October 1870, a recruiting agent appeared outside this church, preaching the virtues of New Zealand. Six families from this district emigrated on the *Celaeno*, including three couples who were hastily married at the church two days before embarkation. The church's centennial history, 'Ullern Kirke i Sor-Odal', records that following the burning of the wooden Grue Church, with the loss of 113 lives, on Whitsunday 1822, churches, including Ullern Church, had to be built of stone. [A baby, Arne Johannesen, was baptised at Grue Church earlier on the day of the fire. His younger brother, Johannes Johannesen, emigrated to New Zealand on the *Hovding* in 1873. (J.E. Olsen, c1977: 51.)] (Photo:- Sjur Madsen, As, Norway - July 1993)*

This sudden opportunity to make a better future for themselves saw Carl and Annie Andersen, Torkil and Kari Gundersen, and Nils and Bertha Pedersen all hastily married at the Ullern Church on October 3rd. Bernt and Elisabet Johansen married the same day at Nes Church, while Martin and Martha Boesen had married at Christiania on October 2nd. Probably these couples had been engaged for some time and this opportunity simply enabled them to 'afford' to get married, as the men could now offer some kind of security to an anticipated family. Certainly two of the couples were already anticipating their families!

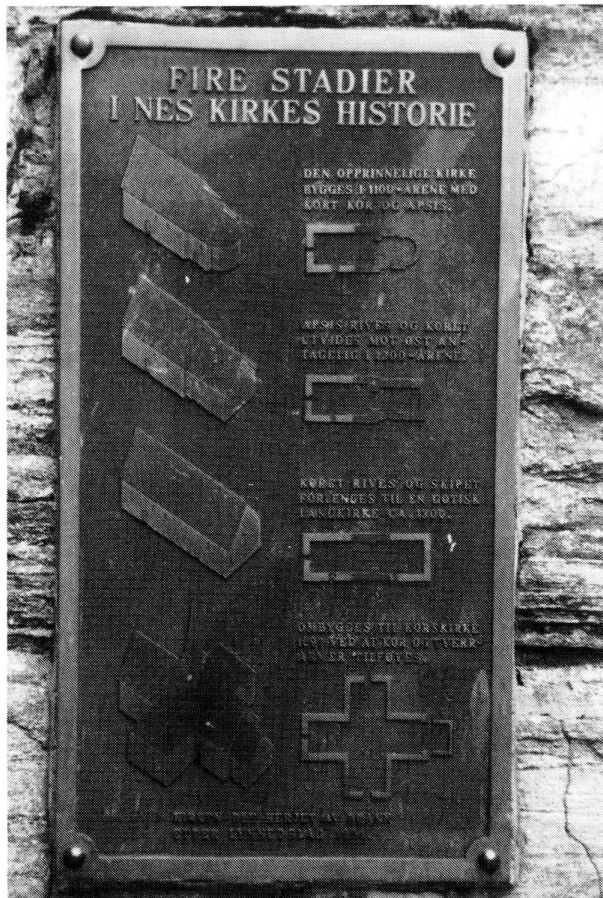
"Our names were taken, including the children's, and instructions given as to what clothing would be required for the journey," recorded Ihle. He tried to convince a relative to accompany them, but the man, probably his brother or brother-in-law, was most unimpressed.

The agent told Gulbrand Hansen that New Zealand had few people and that he was particularly keen to recruit those likely to rear large families. Hansen knew nothing of New Zealand and sought information from a Norwegian parson before committing himself. Unfortunately the parson confused New Zealand with Australia and, while saying that it was a beautiful country, spoke of the many wild animals and snakes which inhabited it. The only encouragement he offered was that they would find English people there, and he thought that would be all right.

The opportunity to commit to this emigration opportunity without having to contribute anything saw "many" withdraw at the last minute. They had nothing to lose. The New Zealand Government learned quickly from this lesson. Subsequent recruits paid a deposit which was forfeited if they failed to embark. Between 1871 and 1876 Scandinavians were assisted to emigrate, but had to repay part of their fare once in New Zealand. Even this first [1870] group would have had to do so, had the Government not felt



Nes Church, built 1860, in Nes County, Romerike, in Akerhus county, Norway. Nes, formerly spelt Naes, was the starting point of six families on the *Celaeno*. Bernt and Elisabet Johansen married there two days before embarkation. (Sjur Madsen, As, Norway - July 1993)



The stone walls of the original Nes Church have survived as a tourist attraction. The 900-year-old building was burnt out in 1854. This plaque shows its architectural history since it was built in 1100 AD. (Sjur Madsen, As, Norway - July 1993)

obligated to honour its 'free passage' agreement with them. However, the freehold land promised by the agent did not materialise. After a period of indecision, the newcomers were offered the chance to pay off larger blocks at £1 per acre. This was a better option.

The steamer *North Star* sailed from Christiania on October 5th 1870, bound for London. Aboard were the little party bound for New Zealand, which comprised one Swedish family and the rest either Norwegian couples or Norwegians with Swedish spouses. Only the financial position of the Andersens and Ihles is known, and they had little money. Probably they were typical of the group. They were under the special charge of the *North Star*'s master, Captain Pearson.

Ihle later recorded that many of the group were strangers to one another. As they prepared to depart they had "a lively time for a while, some crying, some laughing, and some probably with a 'drop' in before going aboard, as there were many friends to see us off." While steaming down the Christiania Fjord [now Oslo Fjord] many wondered if they would ever see their homeland again. None of the families from this voyage are known with certainty to have done so, although Johan Andreassen at least attempted to return in 1880. The party's interpreter, Frederick Andersen, visited Norway in the early 1880s and returned with a bride. Another [maybe Andreassen or Andersen], after doing well in New Zealand, went back for a short time only to change his mind when reintroduced to local conditions. (Buick: 309)

On the second day out of Christiania, they met the *North Sea*, and quickly discovered they did not share the sea-going stamina of the great Norwegian sailors of ancient times. They were very shaken up and were delighted to reach the safety of London. Their relief was shortlived in some ways though. The English Custom House Officers had immediately seized their tobacco, promising it would be returned when they boarded the *Celaeno*.

The next day the little band was moved to another dock. Ihle recalled that "*we all mustered up and marched to some other part of the city and went aboard (the Celaeno). Our luggage arrived and our beds were fixed up and we were now ready for the long journey. The interpreter we now had seemed afraid of his job and we were lucky in getting (as a replacement), Mr Frederick Andersen, who had come over the North Sea with us and was willing to go to New Zealand. The appointment was made and everyone satisfied.*"

The *Celaeno*'s passengers appear to have comprised 89 men, women and children spread between the first, second and third classes. In addition to the 59 Norwegian and Swedish passengers, there were also 16 Irish and 2 Scottish emigrants. The 12 cabin passengers included 6 nuns of the Order of Our Lady of the Missions, of whom two were going to Hawkes Bay, two to Nelson and two to Christchurch. The others were Mr and Mrs Laird, Miss Porteous, Miss Dickson, Mr J. Wyatt Lee, with Miss B. Campsie in the second cabin. The remaining 75 people [plus babies born at sea] were in steerage. (EP 6/2/1871)

The *Celaeno*'s passengers were under the able care of Doctor P.F. Goold, formerly a member of one of the American, Charles Francis Hall's, Arctic Expeditions. Thus the passengers had a more interesting doctor to converse with - if they could - than was usually the case. [Note: Probably this was Hall's second expedition to the north end of Hudson Bay (1864-1869). This party covered 4,830 kilometres (3,000 miles) by sled, while trying to learn the fate of some explorers who had gone missing in 1845.]

Loading the *Celaeno* did not go without incident. The 'Wellington Independent' of 7 February 1871 published a startling extract from the 'London Daily News.' It described how the firm John McEwen & Co. had been summonsed by the East and West India Dock Co. for attempting to place two packages containing highly inflammable petroleum spirits on-board the ship. The packages



This map shows the part of Norway where the *Celaeno* immigrants originated, and the route they would have taken to reach Christiania, now Oslo. The parishes and districts of Ullern [Ulleren], Nes, Odalen, Solor, Romerike and Nannestad are underlined - Nannestad being the origin of the family name of the Nannestad family of Palmerston North. (from Kummerley & Frey's map of Norway, published by Esslste Map Service, Stockholm, in 1987)

were supposed to contain lamps. The judge hearing the case stated that, "if the stuff had been shipped and stowed away under the hatches in a closed atmosphere, every soul on-board the vessel would have been virtually on a powder keg." The Dock Company's lawyer added that "had an explosion taken place on-board the *Celaeno*, nothing could have saved the ship, cargo, 100 passengers and crew from total destruction." The defendants blamed a shipping clerk for the error; however, the judge felt it appropriate to inflict the full penalty of £20, with £3/5/- costs. It had also transpired that 'John McEwen & Co.' was a 'front-company' for another named Alexander James Malcolm & Co.

With this potential disaster safely behind them, Ihle recalled that their "little sailing vessel (was) put out into the Channel and anchored. We remained there for a couple of days and had a pleasant time." Finally the voyage, the *Celaeno*'s seventh to New Zealand, began when they sailed from Gravesend, on Friday, October 14th, 1870. "Then a favourable wind sprang up and we said goodbye to England, and the little ship soon became home to us." The ship left Gravesend and passed through the Downs at 6 pm, with light easterly winds and fine weather.

Soon after passing through the Downs, the ship began experiencing "very heavy and severe weather." On October 22nd they put in to St. Helens Roads, off the Isle of Wight, where they remained until October 28th. Even after the journey resumed, the heavy gales continued to plague the vessel until the 31st. Finally, on November 1st they bade

farewell to their pilot near Falmouth and started out, once again, in light easterly winds and very fine weather.

Despite the bad weather, the pilot took back only one letter of complaint. Doctor Goold was advising the New Zealand Government Agency in London, that the passengers' impounded tobacco had not been returned to them - and that they felt cheated. (NA: IM 6/7/1)

One of the passengers, possibly Carl Bergersen [and almost certainly not A.H. Ihle as has been thought], wrote home to Norway on 13 March 1871 describing the voyage. "We entered the Atlantic in November 1st. We...had favourable wind and good weather, and hardly any illness that mattered, apart from three English women and a Norwegian one who had their babies. The food on-board has been quite good, but it doesn't alter the fact that it has been a boring voyage, but when the voyage is over all the boredom will be forgotten. Admittedly our patience was stretched to bursting point many times, because there was little room for our seventeen children to move - all a little difficult at times, and there was the same number of English children, who were incapable of conversing with our children, and vice versa. But, considering all these little hurdles and the noise - a commotion comparable to an auction sale at home - things worked out tolerably well."

On November 9th the *Celaeno* "spoke" to the *City of Dunedin* [bound for Otago] at 34°.40'N x 15°W. The vessels remained together until the 16th. On November 12th they sighted La Palma, in the Canary Islands. By the 15th, the ship was 'in company with' the *Queen Bee*, [bound for Auckland] at 26°.12'N x 18°W.

November 26th saw the arrival of Bernt and Elisabet Johansen's first child - a son whom they named Johan.

"On November 28th we crossed the Equator," wrote the unknown passenger, "with favourable wind too, and believe it or not we could have left our woollen socks at home. We sought the shade wherever we could and kept the children cool by dipping them in water as often as we could."

On December 5th they lost the south-east Trade Winds in sight of Trinidad.

While the people on the *Celaeno* were struggling to keep cool, the New Zealand Government was struggling to find a place to settle them. On December 15th, William Gisborne, the Colonial Secretary, requested that Robert Pharazyn, the Commissioner of Confiscated Lands, and Arthur Follett Halcombe, the Provincial Secretary, suggest where the anticipated 60 Scandinavian families from the *Celaeno* and the England might go. They suggested the Manawatu.

The Wellington Provincial Government set aside land near Palmerston in late December, for use by the General Government. Most had already been surveyed into sections of between 40 and 200 acres and there was sufficient to settle at least 60 families. Six to eight thousand acres were involved, of which half would be at the disposal of the General Government to sell to the Scandinavians. The remaining half would stay with the Wellington Provincial Government for sale by public auction. The land was to be divided into sections of 50 acres each, with the General and Provincial Governments taking alternate sections. (AJHR 1871, D-3A: 10)

Details of this plan appeared in the Wanganui newspaper, and on February 4th [the day before the *Celaeno* reached Wellington] Viggo Monrad anxiously wrote from Karere, objecting to the idea of selling only every second 50 acre section to Scandinavians, while reserving the adjoining sections for others. "If every other section is reserved, the fencing will become too expensive and the people will be prevented from having their homesteads close together, which, to married people, would be a very great advantage in many ways, especially where the man has to leave home to go to work." (NA: IM 6/7/1)

Monrad also suggested designating a much larger reserve of land for Scandinavians, specifically Danes, of around thirty to forty thousand acres. He felt that with the recent defeat of France by Prussia in the Franco-Prussian War, emigration would have a new-found appeal to Danes. A

large block of land set aside for Scandinavians may entice 'independent' settlers to come from Denmark, in addition to the assisted 'labouring' classes. Monrad was also concerned about how long the immigrants would have to pay off their land. He recommended 14-year terms. The Government wanted a far shorter period. His letter was endorsed with the comment, "Mr Monrad's suggestions are worthy of consideration in arranging the settlement of the Scandinavians. [signed] Donald McLean." (NA: IM 6/7/1) The influential McLean was superintendent of the Hawkes Bay Province and a Member of the House of Representatives.

[Viggo Monrad had first written to the Immigration Office, Wellington, on 7 December 1870 regarding immigration from Scandinavia, suggesting the Government set aside "a considerable block of land" to be sold only to people from Sweden, Norway and Denmark for the first few years. He favoured separate districts "almost like home" for the three nationalities, to allow the settlers to adjust gradually to the new language and culture. "But we would not care for a German district too close to us." ('Hovding', Nov. 1979: 12) Probably this idea was a forerunner to the main Scandinavian settlements in the Seventy Mile Bush.]

The *Celaeno* sailed onward, its passengers still oblivious to any problems in New Zealand - or anywhere else for that matter. They crossed the meridian of the Cape of Good Hope at 43°S on Christmas Day 1870 and the meridian of the Cape Leeuwin [Western Australia] at 44°S on 17 January 1871. *"On January 25th this year we saw Tasmania, also known as Van Diemens Land. Here we caught a large fish and saw albatrosses, the biggest sea-bird with a wing span of ten feet... We saw very little on this voyage, apart from sea and sky, sea-birds and fish, and a few times even - under our ship - a few whales... On February 3rd we saw New Zealand's snow covered mountains 8,772 feet above the sea."* (letter: 13/3/1871)

At 4 pm on February 4th, the *Celaeno* reached The Brothers in Cook Strait. The Port Nicholson pilot, Mr Holmes, then came aboard, taking charge at 7 pm. The wind was blowing north-west. Finally, on February 5th, the *Celaeno* arrived in Wellington - 113 days out of London and 95 days land to land. There had been two births at sea and no deaths, according to the 'Evening Post' of 6 February 1871 [despite the claims of our unknown letter-writer of 13/3/1871].

The group's first impression of Wellington was that it was "a charming town." (letter: 13/3/1871) The next morning, Doctor Featherston, who had helped organise this party in Scandinavia and then returned to New Zealand, came aboard to greet them. He asked the immigrants if they had any complaints against the Captain, the ship's Doctor, the mate or sailors. Captain Renaut said that these immigrants were the best he had ever carried, and Doctor Gould agreed. Of course, they may have always said that of departing passengers.

The *Celaeno* had arrived two days before the 1871 General Election, and there was concern about possible reactions from labourers in Wellington, who feared the newcomers would take their jobs. Featherston *"cautioned the (Scandinavians) against anything they might hear ashore, which was not conveyed through an official channel. None of them (were) to be allowed to land until the election (was) over."* (EP 6/2/1871)

With the election out of the way, the party was brought ashore aboard the *Wanganui*. At that time there were still thoughts of some members of the group going to Napier and Nelson. (EP 8/2/1871).

Despite having apparently decided the Manawatu would be the destination of these first Scandinavians, on January 21st, William Gisborne had written to the Superintendents of Nelson, Canterbury and Otago Provinces, offering them the immigrants and asking what numbers and types of people were needed. There was little interest. Nelson required none, while Otago sought more information and suggested sending them to Martin's Bay, in Fiordland. The Superintendent of Taranaki proved very keen though. A deputation from the Cape Egmont Flax Dressing Company



*Anders Christian Christensen (q.v.), from Nes, Norway, and his beloved violin, with which he entertained the *Celaeno* passengers. By the 1890s, when Charles Mariboe (q.v.) took this photo, Anders was attempting to earn a living as a 'magnetic and electric' faith healer. His wife died in 1885, leaving him with seven children, some of whom were brought up by other families. After spending his latter years in Shannon, he died at the Ohro 'old men's' Home at Wellington, on 16 August 1907, and was buried in a pauper's grave at Karori Cemetery. (Val Burr)*

and the Opanake Flax Company wanted them sent to Opanake. A "constant and steady" supply of labour for flaxmills was required for that district, they said. The directors of the two companies put up a good case in their letter of February 8th, but the immigrants made it very clear that they wished to remain together. The Government was of the same opinion. Taranaki Province was recommended to apply for later immigrants. (AJHR 1871, D-3A: 7-9)

T.L. Buick wrote in 'Old Manawatu' [mistakenly calling the *Celaeno* the non-existent Hooden] that a hostile demonstration of Wellington's labourers had greeted the *Celaeno*, citing fear that their jobs would be threatened by these 'foreigners' as the cause. The future Danish Consul, Mr C.J. Toxward (q.v.), a Wellington architect, had then come aboard and assured the Scandinavians that they were in no danger - the labourers of Wellington were not keen to migrate to the bush of the Manawatu. The immigrants had then accompanied Toxward to the old Mount Cook Barracks, at Te Aro, where they were to stay for their first few days.

"On the 8th we were allowed ashore. It was a matter of waiting for lodgings for a few days. It was fun being on board for the last few days, with dancing on the deck every night. People came on board daily to talk with us, some prophesied success for us, others were pessimistic on our behalf." (letter: 13/3/1871)

The local newspapers were quick to inspect the party, though the 'Wellington Independent' (6/2/1871) could have been inspecting cattle. *"They have, of course, a very foreign look and do not look too intelligent; but as they are all healthy, and possess a good physical development, they will no doubt, prove very acceptable settlers in some country district."*

The 'Evening Post' (6/2/1871) was of the opinion that the party were all Swedish; that the Government was going to pay their expenses until employment was found for them; and that if any or all of them were dissatisfied with New Zealand after a short trial, the Government would pay their way back to Sweden. The newspaper claimed the party were to work for low wages, and would replace workers who were currently employed. This was unlikely to calm the anxieties of Wellington's labourers.

Halcombe had arranged with Mr R.M. Cleland, a contractor of Te Aro, to supply "liberal" daily rations at 7.5 pence per adult. In addition they were to receive a cord of firewood, a small load of straw to fill their mattresses and a few shillings for washing materials. An advertisement was also published seeking an interpreter for the 'Swedish' immigrants at a salary of £600 per year, with allowances. The successful applicant had to be able to teach New Zealand agriculture to the tailors and wheelwrights in the party. (EP 6/2/1871)

"At long last we took over the military barracks with a kitchen (sic). A government official called in twice a day to see if we were short of anything, and every day meat, fresh bread, plus coffee, sugar, candles and tobacco were delivered - in such large quantities that we had to stop the delivery in the end." (AJHR 1871, D-3A: 13)

The Wellington merchants must have thought the newcomers would not notice the mounting debt being pressed upon them. The immigrants had to pay their own way, using credit initially, from the time they left the *Celaeno*.

The first nights in their new homeland were spent in the old barracks, the rooms of which were described as "large and airy" with good cooking and washing facilities. The only concern was the lack of partitioning, and it was felt that blankets strung up in appropriate places would solve this problem. The first night ashore was spent blowing away the cobwebs of months at sea with great celebration and much singing and dancing. Anders C. Christensen described playing his fiddle while weaving between the dancing couples in the barracks.



Mount Cook Immigration Barracks, at Te Aro, Wellington, where many Scandinavians spent their first nights on New Zealand soil. From a drawing in Mac Larsen's book 'Happiness is Sharing Your Heritage'.

Halcombe confirmed on February 10th that the immigrants appeared to be in perfect health and were well satisfied with their voyage. They ranged from 21 to 36 years of age [Anders Ihle was 37], were "apparently of robust constitution, used to hard work and still harder fare, sober and industrious, of cheerful disposition and easily contented, and cautious of incurring liabilities beyond their means. They have very little knowledge of the English language, but they are intelligent and seem well educated. They are Lutheran [?] by profession, and are careful and regular in their religious observances."

Their routine in Norway, he understood, had involved "six months of the year...engaged exclusively in agricultural operations. Then at the commencement of the Norwegian winter, which extends over the other six months, they had migrated to

the woods and been involved in the lumber trade, or in rough carpentering, or blacksmith's work. During the long winter months, the women employed themselves in spinning and weaving; and I was assured by them with no little pride, that every article of clothing worn by the men, from the knitted woollen shirts to the warm blue frieze coats, was entirely of home manufacture.

Such a previous experience...fits these people especially for the work (required) in a district like the Manawatu, where an acquaintance with the use of the axe and adze is an essential to success, and where bush work is a necessary preliminary to agricultural operations. The men, moreover, have some general acquaintance with railway work, most of them having been engaged in Norway in cutting sleepers and laying a railway; they are also used to hand(ing) a pit-saw.

Coming from a climate so severe as that of Norway, they express unbounded delight on learning that the summer clothing of their own country is sufficiently warm for the New Zealand winter; and that all stock, instead of requiring to be housed and hand-fed for six months of the year, are able in this country to find sufficient grass in the winter, and need no more shelter than the open pastures generally afford." (AJHR 1871, D-3A: 13-14)

Halcombe advised the immigrants that they were to be moved immediately to the township of Palmerston, where the Government would employ the men on public works for at least 12 months, at day or contract work. Once there, each family would be permitted to 'squat' on a block of 10 acres, where they could immediately build a house, the property being reserved from sale for about 2 years, with the occupier having the right of purchase, at £1 per acre, during that first 2 years. They were liable to the Government for £7 per adult toward their passage money, the cost of their keep while in Wellington, and up to £1 for their voyage from Wellington to Foxton. These sums were to be deducted from their wages from time to time. Halcombe had estimated these costs [called 'Establishment costs' in the biographies which follow] would have comprised £14 as the contribution towards passage money per couple; £4 toward expenses in Wellington and transport to Manawatu; with a further £10 toward essential supplies - a total of £28. (AJHR 1871, D-3A: 13)

This was rather different to what the party had been promised in Norway. No ten acres freehold! No free passage! Doctor Featherston quickly advised Halcombe of the latter promise and Halcombe accepted that the Government must relent on this demand, even though the immigrants had not objected to the spirit of the charge. The authorities feared that any excessive generosity toward these immigrants would have to be made toward all those who followed. In the case of land purchase procedures, that did occur.

The families were to compile a list of essential supplies to cover a 4 or 5 month period. This allowed for the difficult winter months and related access problems, and also the cheaper purchase prices available in Wellington. Halcombe recommended these supplies include: flour, tea, sugar, soap, candles, calico, nails, tools, cooking and washing utensils. The party booked up goods, including those used at the barracks, to the value of: £128/12/2 - R.M. Cleland, stores; £2/9/3.5 - James Smith, drapery; and £65/13/11 - E.W. Mills, ironmongery. (AJHR 1871, D-3A:17)

The immigrants were also told that from the day "we had left Christiania, until we arrived in Wellington, the cost had been less than half a shilling a day, therefore if we wanted more family members to follow, they could come for half the price." (letter: 13/3/1871) [see C.P.Mai's costs elsewhere]

The unknown letter-writer provided the immigrants' view of Halcombe's visit. "On February 10th we were told what was in store for us. The Government wanted to send us 94 miles inland where we would be allowed to buy land at £1 per acre. They were prepared to lend us £14 in order to buy tools and provisions, for the idea was to provide us with work five days a week, 8 am to 5 pm for 5 shillings a week. We were also to have an hour's lunch in the middle of the day. In this manner

we were to buy ten acres of land each. On the sixth day of the week, that is Saturday, we were supposed to work at home on our own land. We discussed this proposal with a Danish builder [Toxward] who was very emphatic that we should decline the Government's offer, because there was insufficient land to make a comfortable living. 'Say no', he advised us 'and you will find that the Government will make a better offer.' We followed this advice and the result was that we were offered forty acres each. Oh! he was a courageous man."

Toxward's intervention resulted in each family being allocated 40 acres. On March 17th, Halcombe advised the Colonial Secretary that 20 acres of this land was reserved for two years with the right of purchase during that time. If they paid for it within the first 12 months, they would have a further two years to pay for the remaining 20 acres. In fact they mainly paid installments - for the full 40 acres - in roughly equal amounts between 1873 and 1876, according to the Wellington Provincial Government Gazettes. [see 'Establishment Costs' in the family biographies] Life for these people proved to be rather harder financially, than had been envisaged.

Part of the irritation felt by Wellington's labourers traced to their own wish to purchase land by deferred payment, as otherwise land ownership was out of their reach. A 511-signature petition was to be presented to the Superintendent of the Provincial Government by the newly-formed Committee of Working Men, in an attempt to have this system introduced. (EP 21/2/1871) Thus treatment being accorded the Scandinavians was of particular interest to these people. The 'Evening Post' recorded, "*It has been several times asserted that the Norwegians and Swedes, who have recently been placed on the Manawatu land, have not become purchasers on the deferred payment principle, but are simply squatters, possessing only the security of the right to have their improvements valued and paid for in the event of the land being purchased (by someone else). This may or may not be, but we are aware that the immigrants themselves told a very different story to some of their countrymen here. They said in their plainest terms that their bargain with Doctor Featherston was that they were to purchase land on the deferred payment principle, but possibly they misunderstood the matter.*" (EP 21/2/1871)

As the new arrangements for the Scandinavians became clear, pressure was applied to permit others who also had limited means the right to purchase land by deferred payment. It was felt there was no other chance for "working men" to purchase land under the existing system. (EP

23/2/1871) Labourers who were working alongside the Scandinavians in the Manawatu made similar requests. This agitation resulted in the General Government passing the Wellington Special Settlements Act, 1871, which permitted Crown Land, under certain conditions, to be paid for by deferred payment. Designated blocks, such as the Karere and Stoney Creek Scandinavian Blocks, and the Stoney Creek Roadmen's Block, were set aside as Special Settlements. (see maps in Appendix)

Government officials had intended to allow the women and children to remain at the Mount Cook Barracks until their menfolk could build suitable accommodation for them. The officials realised that Manawatu's mosquito population peaked at that time of year. However, the group had again elected to remain together. Consequently the 'Evening Post' of 13 February 1871 reported that the Government paddle-steamer *P.S. Luna* was to leave Wellington that afternoon, taking the "Swedish" immigrants, bound for the Manawatu. The party included young babies and pregnant women.

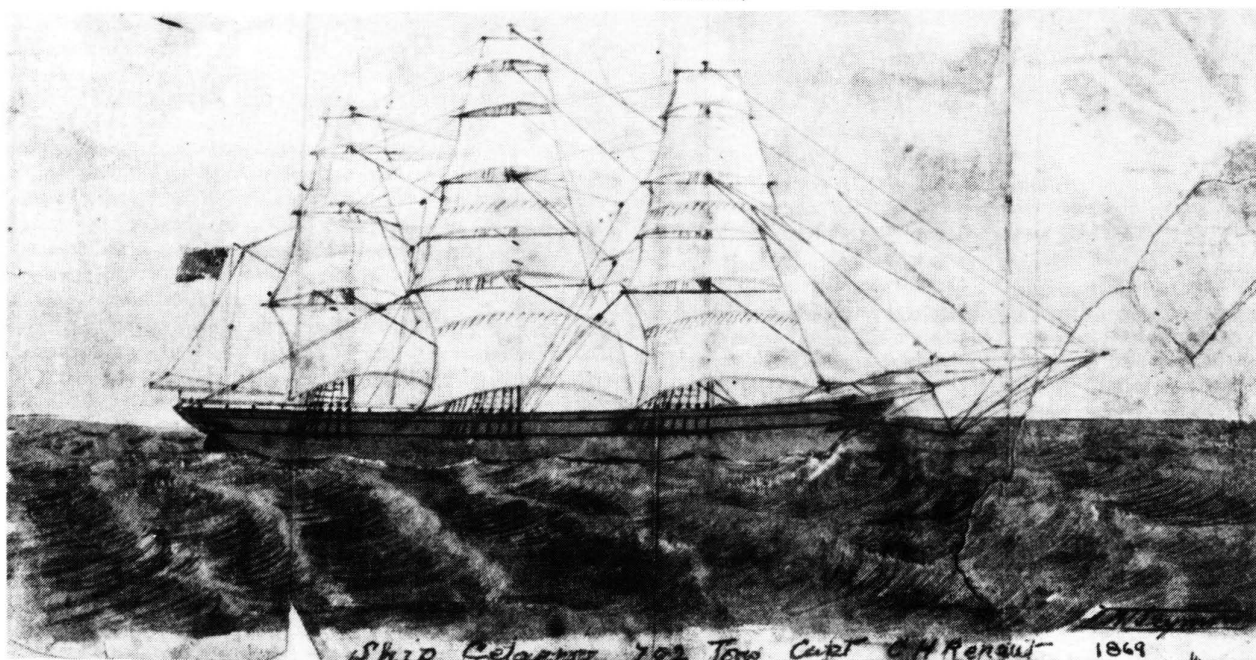
"On February 13th we started the last lap of the journey and the following morning [at the Manawatu River mouth] we were firmly stuck on tidal banks. At this point we had visits from

Below:

The "little" Celaeno, which was built in 1863 by Alexander Hall and Sons, Aberdeen, at a cost of £18 per ton, was 'ship-rigged', weighed 702 tons gross and measured 173.0 x 30.2 x 18.7 feet. Its trip to New Zealand in 1871 was the seventh of its career. Then owned by J & D Parker, the ship was under charter to the Shaw Savill & Albion Company which had been contracted to transport immigrants for the New Zealand Government since 1859. The remainder of the Celaeno's 1870-1 round trip to New Zealand consisted of its departure for Lyttelton on April 6th, where it remained from April 11th to May 20th. It then sailed for London, arriving at Gravesend on 22 August 1871. (ref: Wellington Maritime Museum)

The Celaeno made 11 trips to New Zealand between 1864 and 1879: Dunedin 1864, 1865, 1867 [twice], 1869; Lyttelton 1870; Wellington 1871, 1872, 1873, 1874; Napier 1879. These ranged from 92 to 142 days from port to port, with the 1871 voyage being the third longest. Bad weather was the culprit in such cases. Apart from the voyages of 1874 and 1879, it was always commanded by Captain C.H. Renaut.

This picture, a watercolour by M. Seymour, First Mate on the Celaeno for its 1869-70 voyage, was presented by him to Margaret Jane Rose, a passenger emigrating to New Zealand to marry John Sinclair of Cheviot. The couple's granddaughter presented it to Canterbury Museum in 1990. (Canterbury Museum)



many natives - and they looked very likeable people. In the evening [afternoon] at high tide, we were able to continue...." (letter: 13/3/1871)

The Manawatu correspondent for the 'Wellington Independent', then took up the story. "Tuesday the 14th February will be a notable day in the future chronicles of Foxton, from the fact of the immigration of 60 souls into the district. There has not occurred such a similar wholesale immigration before.

The colonial steamer, Luna, arrived at the wharf at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, and immediately discharged her passengers and cargo. The passengers were Mr A.F. Halcombe, the Provincial Secretary, who came up in charge of the portion of the Norwegian immigrants who are to be located near Palmerston - and which numbered somewhat over eighteen able-bodied men - the rest consisting of their wives and children. They all looked well and cheerful. After housing their stores which they brought

Below:

The PS Luna [Official No. 50060], which was built at Greenwich, England, in 1864, to run the blockade between Bermuda and the United States during the American Civil War. The powerful steamer was capable of 17 knots and, while its sister ship, the Robert E. Lee, saw service during this period, the war ended before the Luna could get there. As a result the Luna's first two years were spent working out of London. The paddle-wheeled, schooner-rigged, two-funnelled vessel was 310 tons gross, or 195 tons nett register, and measured 170.1 x 24 x 8.5 feet. It had two 120 hp double oscillating engines. The Luna was sent to Melbourne and then to Sydney by 1868, where alterations were made to increase its original 252 gross registered tons to 310 grt.

The New Zealand Government purchased the Luna for the Defence Department in May 1870 and the vessel then operated around the New Zealand coast, including doing lighthouse work. It also served as Governor Bowen's yacht around 1872. It was considered an "expensive plaything" in some quarters, due to the Government's willingness to grant free passages to people on occasion, at the expense of other steamboat proprietors. (EP 21/2/1871)

The Luna was about twice the size of the usual vessels which called at Foxton, and it paid two visits to the port: the 1871 visit described here, and also on 10 July 1876 when it delivered the first of the 'F class' locomotives needed to replace the under-powered 'Skunk' and 'Wallaby'.

In 1877 the vessel was sold to Wellington merchant, Walter Turnbull, who converted it to a collier. To create more space for cargo, its forward boiler and funnel were removed, and its large saloon and the sleeping accommodation were reduced in size. Thereafter it was capable of only 9 knots. (EP 20/4/1877) The Luna was involved in collisions in 1870 and 1877. In 1903 its registration was closed and it was broken up. (Martin: 71-2; McLennan: 18-9; Cassells, 1984: 53; and Wellington Maritime Museum. Photo: Alexander Turnbull Library)

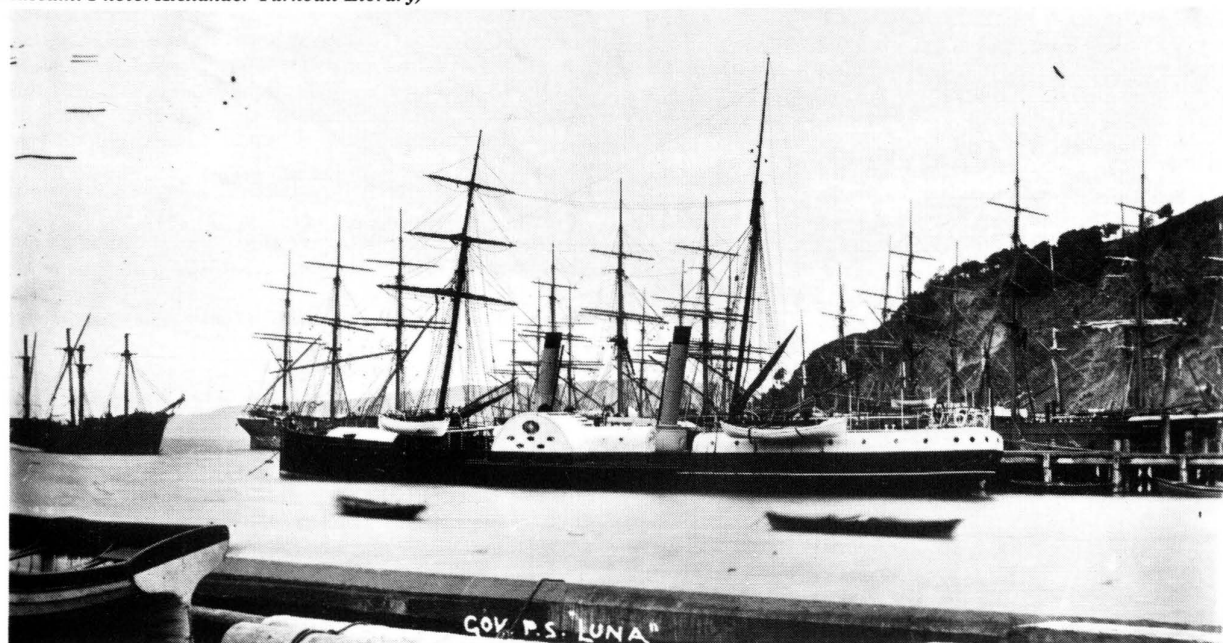
up with them, they were lodged in a house by themselves, belonging to the Foxton Family Hotel, and from which they were to start at 5 o'clock the following morning, on route to Palmerston.

A large concourse of the townspeople and Maoris were gathered at the wharf to watch the landing of the new settlers, and to view the largest steamer that has at present paid us a visit. The town was also gaily decorated with flags. It should speak volumes in favour of the Manawatu River, considering that the river is now extremely low for want of rain, and that it was neap tide also, that a vessel of the size of the Luna should be able to come up the river, discharge her cargo and get out to sea, all within the same tide, and without any (embarrassing accidents); and it is to be hoped this trip of the Luna will dispel the bad reports which interested parties have spread concerning it..." (WI 20/2/1871)

The Commissioner of Confiscated Lands, Robert Pharazyn, and A.F. Halcombe had hoped to take the Luna up the Manawatu River as far as Ngawhakarau, about 9 miles from their future homes, but this was deemed impractical. Ngawhakarau was near the site of the old Opiki Swing Bridge. The morning after their arrival at Foxton, most of the party headed for the tiny swampy wilderness of Palmerston. The men walked the whole distance - about 25 miles. The women and children travelled by canoe at least as far as Ngawhakarau, from which point some may also have walked. The roughly-formed road was "pretty good", in contrast with the muddy bog which the England passengers found a few weeks later.

There remains some confusion over how the *Celaeno* women travelled to Palmerston as both Marie Christensen and Johanna Berquist spoke of being taken up the river to the town itself. Marie said that she was taken by boat [canoe] up a stream, to near the intersection of Ferguson Street and Fitzherbert Avenue. She also apparently claimed to have been the "second white woman to 'live' in Palmerston North." The first was Mrs Cole, whose husband was licensee of the Palmerston Hotel. This may have been a light-hearted claim, such as being the first to step out of the boat!

These memories may have referred to the women's escape from the flooding a few weeks later. However, when David McEwen, who had been in the district since 1868, was interviewed in 1911, he described how the Scandinavian "men made their way through bush and swamp to their new homes (while) the women and children (were) conveyed by canoe and landed at Hokowhitu." (ES 4/3/1911) Buick (p. 306) also records that "the majority of the men walked over the sand dunes and through the bush, while the women and



children, together with their boxes and baggage, were taken up the river in canoes."

After a very hard trek, the main party reached the town in the evening of February 15th complete with baggage and young children. *"We reached Palmerston on foot [evidently after dark], where we were given a very warm reception. The table was laid with meat and sandwiches. Women and children ate first, followed by the men."* (letter: 13/3/1871)

Anders Ihle recalled that their first night was spent at the four-roomed Palmerston Hotel which Amos Burr, who was to be the men's overseer, had optimistically built in 1866. The women and children slept on the floor inside, while the men slept - or attempted to sleep - on the verandah, amidst the swarming mosquitoes.

In 1909 Bernt Johansen [referred to as 'E. Johansen'] recalled this first night. *"Oh, the mosquitoes. They were like a cloud. I fought them with my hands like a prize-fighter, but they came on just the same."* The next morning he was informed he was in Palmerston township, although all he could see was fern and cabbage trees on one side, and dense bush on the other. (Bradfield, 1962: 11)

"Next morning [February 16th] we travelled two miles in a southerly direction, and there we bought land." (letter: 13/3/1871) Bernt Johansen had obtained a good horse for the short trip, but the animal was unable to carry him that far. The mud was up to its girth. Johansen added during his interview that by 1909 *"a young man (could) find a nice looking young girl on every section round Palmerston district, but at that time you could only pick up wild pigs. Where there are good roads now, there was nothing but bush, supplejack and mosquitoes. Mosquitoes everywhere!"* (Bradfield 1962: 11)

The party had been taken to the Karere Scandinavian Block, at what is now Awapuni, where they were to be settled. There, *"our tents were erected and we lived in these until we could build our simple little huts."* (letter: 13/3/1871)

Gulbrand Hansen also recalled his first impression of the town. *"What is now the Square was then a desert of high fern, in which there were numerous wild pigs, and all around the dark forest... There were natural waterholes and lagoons (in the Square) and ducks and pigeons were plentiful"*. (ES 26/5/1911)

At first all 18 families occupied one large tent provided by the Government, but as soon as they were allocated their land, they quickly built huts for their families and vacated the tent. By April 24th, some had felled between one and two acres of bush on their land. (AJHR 1871, D-3A: 17)

Halcombe described this land as "the finest possible description of bush land, not very heavily timbered, and each family has a frontage of ten chains on the main road line to Foxton. They appear to be perfectly satisfied with their prospects, and I have every faith in their success." (AJHR 1871, D-3A: 17) He did not elaborate on the reason this land was 'not very heavily timbered', although probably the reasons were the Mangaone and Kawau Streams and a rather large swamp which intersected on the Karere Scandinavian Block!

Attempts to appoint an interpreter in Wellington had apparently been unsuccessful, and Frederick Andersen was once again appointed to this post. But rather than the £600 p.a. which had been advertised in the newspaper, Andersen was given £5 for his services between leaving the ship and the party's arrival in Palmerston. He was also to be paid 10/- per week for the three months from March 1st, and 5/- per week for the following three months. Thereafter Halcombe thought that no interpreter would be required. (AJHR 1871, D-3A: 17)

Karen Arnesen Kjolstad and Annie Andersen had been within weeks of giving birth when the *Celaeno* reached New Zealand, and it was considered too risky to send them into the bush under such conditions. Halcombe arranged for them, and another woman as assistant, to be boarded in

Foxton. They stayed with the Swedish businessman, Andrew Jonson, until their babies were born, at a cost of 10 shillings per week each. Arrangements were made for a Mr Batten-Smith to attend to their medical needs. As such, on February 22nd, Netta Amelia Arnesen [Kjolstad] arrived, followed by Johan Albert Andersen on March 15th. The associated costs [Jonson = £7/5/- and Batten-Smith = £4/4/-] were to be passed on to the couples concerned, but the Government eventually excused the charges at the request of Halcombe.

Back at Palmerston, the men *"started working on the railway immediately, cutting sleepers, because the railway was to go just outside our huts. Our soil was fertile and needed no manure, but my goodness there is a lot of work to be done to turn forest into farm land. At this point we owe the Government £54, of this we have to pay back £2 every month, except for the first month."*

"We have had a lot of visits from the natives, who are extremely inquisitive, and they will come on horseback for miles, just to look and find out. They are all on horseback, men, women and children. We need an interpreter to talk to them, as they understand neither Norwegian nor English. They are very likeable and have always got apples for our children. We see them daily, and I must say there are many Norwegians much wilder and more savage than they are." (letter: 13/3/1871)

The Rangitane village of Awapuni, established in about 1866, was on the opposite site of the Palmerston-Foxton road [Highway 54] to the Karere Scandinavian Block. This was the home of Te Peeti Te Awe Awe and his extended family. In 1874, 36 people were living there. (R.G. Oliver: 43)

Gulbrand Hansen also spoke highly of their Maori neighbours. *"We were entirely defenceless, had they proved hostile or aggressive. But better people could not have been than the Maoris of those days who lived in the Manawatu. The first huts we lived in had not even a door to them, much less a lock or any protection of that sort, but we used to be away at work, leaving our wives and children behind, and they were never alarmed or molested in any way, nor had we the slightest fear... We never missed anything from our unprotected homes, and lay down to rest at night without the slightest alarm or apprehension... The Manawatu Maoris were always good friends to the early settlers, and I should be doing them a great injustice if I did not acknowledge the fact on this occasion... It was when European settlement came hither that we had to consider the protection of our families."* (ES 26/5/1911)

The unknown *Celaeno* passenger continued 'his' letter: *"At this stage it is too early to say whether any family members ought to follow us, because we cannot speak with any confidence. But we, ourselves, are not going back to Norway. Our little boy is so clever. [Probably two-year-old Oscar Bergersen.] He speaks now whenever he wants to express himself, and he stands in the doorway imitating the birds which sit in the trees, and talks non-stop. We have tremendously large forests on our properties. There are large trees, some up to 56 feet at the base. We visited the son of a Danish bishop [Viggo Monrad], who lives four miles away from us... There we were made welcome as if we were members of his own family, and we were given presents to take home."* (letter: 13/3/1871)

In fact, almost a week before this cheery letter was written, the skies had opened over the settlement. The worst flood known to that time had inundated the Scandinavians' new properties when the Kawau and Mangaone Streams, which ran through a number of the properties, over-flowed their banks. Local settler, Peter Stewart, recorded in his diary that after a period of fine weather, the rain had fallen all day on Sunday, March 5th, and until 5 pm the following day. On Tuesday the 7th, he wrote, *"Fine. The country is all flooded. The Norwegians are all flooded..."* The situation was so bad that some of the group were said to have taken refuge in trees and to have remained there until the water subsided. (Buick: 307) George Snelson recalled that most of them lost their belongings to the raging

waters, which had been deep enough to reach the ridgeboards of their huts. (Snelson Scrapbook: 271)

Ihle later recorded that the severity of this flooding caused the group to send a man to Viggo Monrad, requesting that he contact the Government. (MT 18/8/1934) On March 17th, Halcombe wrote of the messages arriving from the Manawatu. *"They are greatly disheartened in consequence (of the flooding), and I deem it essential to the final success of the scheme that they should be immediately moved to a more favourable site."* (AJHR 1871, D-3A: 15)

When a man arrived to inspect the flooding and acknowledged that indeed it was very bad, the settlers agreed to move up to the township for the time being. There they again built split-slab huts, somewhere near Albert Street, between Main and Church Streets. As a result, Albert Street gained its first name - Scandia Street. (MT 18/8/1934)

Pharazyn and Halcombe had been concerned that some of the immigrants *"such as the baker [Christensen], the machinist [Boesen] and the tailor [Gundersen]"*, would be unable to cope with the rough work of bush-clearing and the splitting of sleepers. (AJHR 1871, D-3A: 12) As it happened, these three, and Nils Christiansen, were the ones whose land was the worst affected by the flood. Evidently their expertise extended as far as recognising a major flooding problem. By April 24th, Halcombe had transferred these four families to the Stoney Creek Scandinavian Block. (AJHR 1871, D-3A: 16-17)

Not only had the bad weather and flooding distressed the settlers and severely restricted their work on the Government contracts, but also some of the local workmen *"some loafing fellows about the place"* had been telling them that their rate of pay was below the average, and that they had been brought to New Zealand solely to reduce the price of labour. When he arrived with the *England* passengers,

Halcombe had to set about reassuring the Norwegians that this was not the case. (AJHR 1871, D-3A: 17)

This then was the chaos the *England* passengers found, when on Monday, April 10th, that group struggled through the mud to Palmerston.

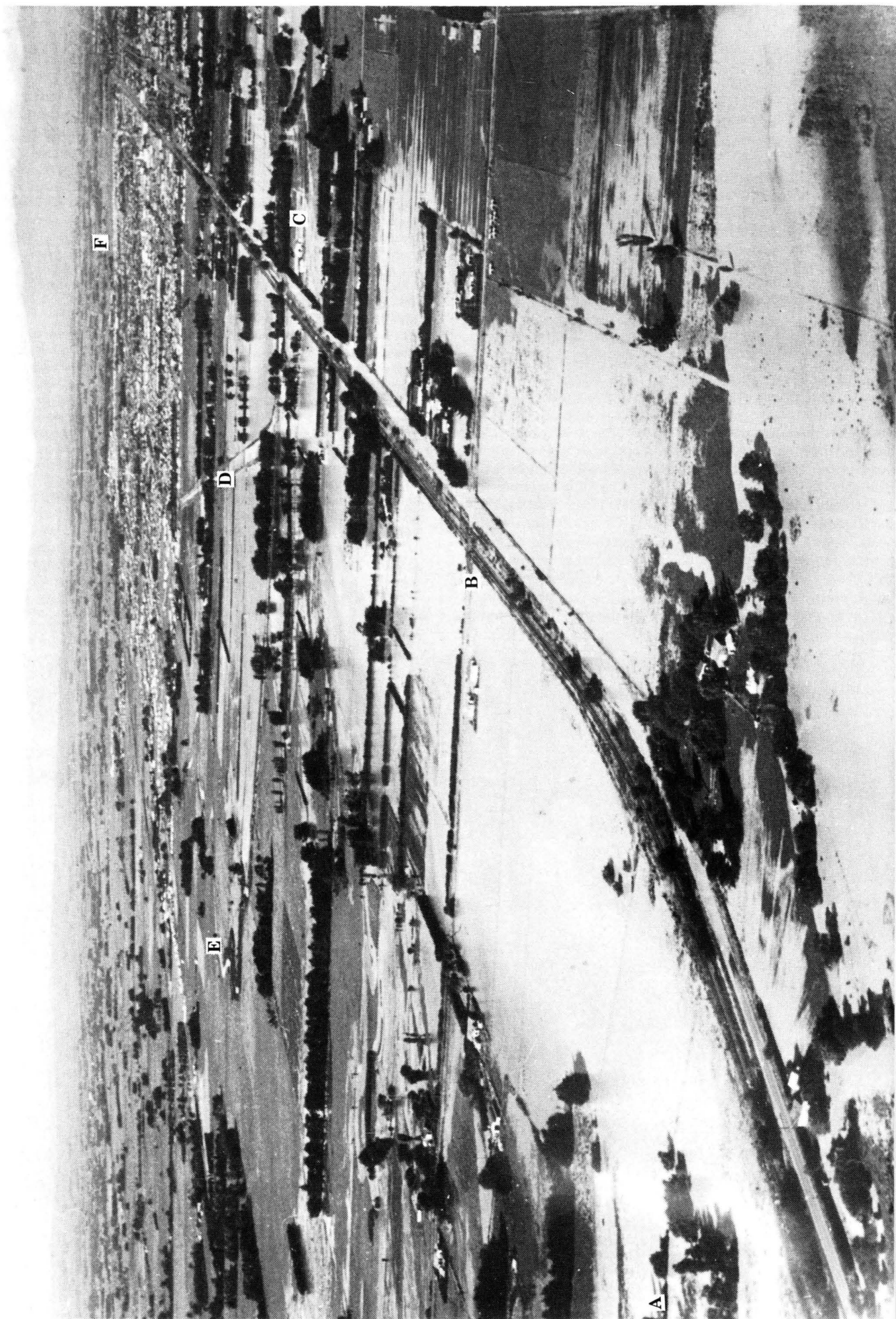
Below:

In March 1871, the newly arrived occupants of the Karere Scandinavian Block found their homes and 'farms' inundated by floodwaters from the Mangaone and Kawau Streams. The floodwaters were said to have reached the ridgeboards of some 'houses', forcing the owners to take refuge in trees. This photo gives an idea of their predicament, even though these two streams have undergone considerable work since then. Originally the Kawau Stream crossed the corner of Jorgen Pedersen's Lot 15, then, after crossing what is now Pioneer Highway, it ran across Lots 16-18. Now it connects with the Mangaone Stream, which has also been diverted from its original course, at about where Lot 9 would have been.

In July 1988, the Mangaone and Kawau Streams showed the inhabitants of Westbrook, a suburb which covers part of the former Karere Scandinavian Block, just what damage they could inflict. This photo, facing south-west, shows what in March 1871 were Carl A. Andersen's Lot 11 [covered by housing], Bernt Johansen's Lot 10 [the trotting track] and beyond it, Peter H. Reinersen's Lot 9. The land in the foreground is possibly the edge of the abandoned Lot 12. The 1988 description is of: (A) the Pencarrow Street-Chippendale Crescent intersection, with Amberley Avenue and Cedar Grove in the background; (B) the Kawau Stream, by then passed its peak; (C) the Manawatu Trotting Club; and (D) the Mangaone Stream.

As a result of this flood, a state of civil emergency was in place in Palmerston North for almost 59 hours. Although fairly widespread, this flooding did not extend to the other three properties [Lots 16-18] which had been abandoned in 1871. [See the photo of this area during the 1953 Flood, and the maps in the Appendix. ALSO the 'Evening Standard' special supplement, 'Flood! July 24-July 27, 1988', published August 1988.] (Photo courtesy of the 'Evening Standard')

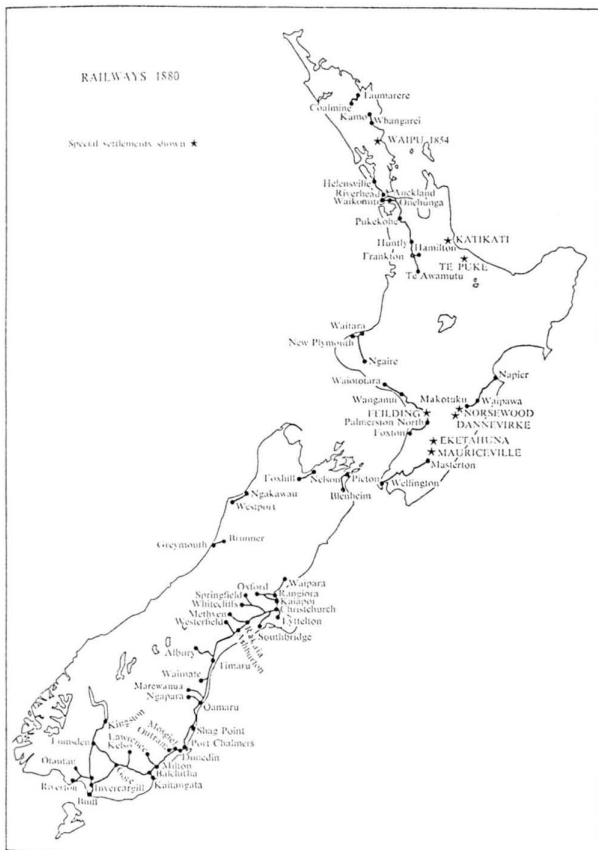




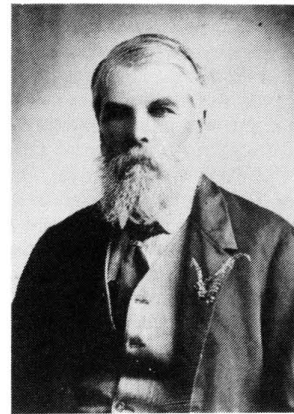
Previous page:

The Karere Scandinavian Block almost entirely submerged by floodwaters from the Mangaone and Kawau Streams during the 1953 Flood. This photo was taken on 28 January 1953 from above Walker's Road [obscured] and shows Palmerston North in the distance.

State Highway 56 [formerly Foxton Line], with the railway then alongside it, runs diagonally across the photo, ultimately becoming Pioneer Highway and then Main Street once in Palmerston North. The (A) marks the trees surrounding Rasmus P. Jensen's former home (q.v.). The Karere Scandinavian Block begins where the curve in the highway is, with the various boundaries being evident as partially submerged fences and hedges. It ends about where the housing begins. At (B) the Rongotea-Longburn Road (left) and Shirriff's Road (right) can be seen bisecting the highway beyond Lots 1 [F. Andersen] and 2 [C.A. Bergersen/G.A. Kindberg]. (C) marks the former site of the Rangitane village of Awapuni, with the lagoon visible behind it. The Manawatu Trotting Club's track, shown in the photo of the 1988 Flood, was not yet built, but the Kawau Stream (D) is clearly visible extending from the city, while the Mangaone Stream (E) meanders toward its man-made junction with the Kawau on about Lot 9. [This is clearer in the 1988 photo.] Originally the Mangaone Stream crossed the road near the bottom left hand corner of this photo after crossing the Scandinavian farms. (F) marks the Stoney Creek Scandinavian and Roadmen's Block in the distance. (Palmerston North City Archives)



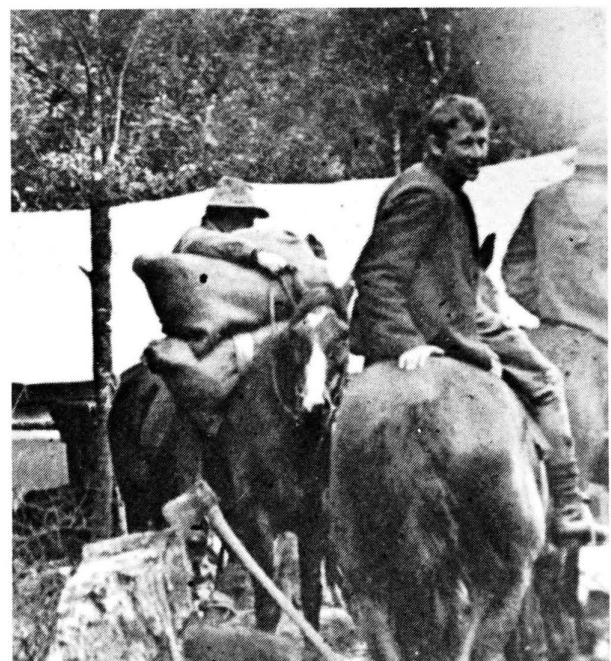
New Zealand's railway network in 1880, a decade after the adoption of the Vogel public works scheme. By this time nearly 1,200 miles of Government-owned railway was in use. Note the mainly Scandinavian 'Special Settlements' of Norsewood, Dannevirke, Eketahuna and Mauricetown, which were established along the proposed railway route through the Seventy-Mile Bush to ensure a supply of labour was available where it was required. The Feilding 'Special Settlement', in the Manchester Block, was planned by the Emigrant and Colonists' Aid Corporation which aimed to help some of Britain's unemployed and destitute to create a new life for themselves. It also hoped, if possible, to make a profit. (Davies & Clevely: 1-2. Map from McIntock, Vol. 3: 33.)



Scottish-born John Tiffin Stewart [1827-1913] arrived in New Zealand in 1855 after several years in the Australian goldfields. In 1870 he was appointed District Engineer of the Public Works Department and was based at Foxton. In the course of his career as a surveyor and a civil engineer, Stewart supervised the subdivision of the townships of Foxton, Palmerston North, Feilding, Halcombe and Rongotea [then called Campbelltown]. He also planned the construction of the Manawatu Gorge Road and the Foxton-Palmerston North tramway. In 1885 he moved to Wanganui where he was involved in public affairs and also co-designed the development of Lake Virginia in 1904. (Kirk: 482. Photo: Palmerston North Public Library)

FOOTNOTE: There are signs of the stories of these first Scandinavian groups being interwoven from time to time. For example, George Snelson arrived in Palmerston a few days after the England's passengers got there, so cannot have housed the Celaeno passengers as has been claimed.

[Sources include: AJHR 1871, D-3A: mainly pages 2-18; Letter from an unnamed Celaeno passenger, 13/3/1871, published in 'Verdens Gang', in Christiania, Norway, on 4/10/1871; Letter: 'Willi' of Norway, to Algar Ihle, 1/2/1939; Peter Stewart's Diary; Interviews with:- Gulbrand Hansen (ES 26/5/1911); Anders Hans Ihle (ES 18/8/1934); Bernt Johansen (Bradfield, 1962: 11); David McEwen (ES 4/3/1911); George Snelson (Snelson Scrapbook: 271). I.R. Matheson's 'The Birth of Palmerston North' (Evening Standard supplement 13/3/1971). A.H. Ihle's Reminiscences in 'Record of 100 years ago', page 33. Also birth records of the Andersen and Kjolstad babies.]



A bushfelling camp in the Manawatu, with possible Scandinavian links. (Photo album c1900-1920, Palmerston North City Archives)

4 THE VOYAGE OF THE ENGLAND

Recruiting methods and promises used in Denmark and Sweden were similar to those used in Norway. After being forced to pay fares for Norwegians who changed their minds, the New Zealand Government, which had to pay all pre-booked fares whether used or not, demanded that all would-be immigrants pay a deposit of £1/2/-. This fee covered bedding and utensils for the voyage, but would be forfeited if the recruit failed to embark. This was done with great zeal by the Danish agent, and there was no 'short shipment' of passengers, despite their variable quality and a few substitutions. However, the message arrived too late in Gothenburg, Sweden, so could not be actioned. One Swedish man did change his mind.

On 23 August 1870, the New Zealand Commissioner, Doctor Featherston, while visiting Gothenburg [Goteborg], officially requested that Messrs Henderson Bros. of that city, begin recruiting ten Swedish couples. As in Norway, the couples could take up to two children. If unable to meet these totals, an equivalent number of young unmarried men and women could be sent. Actual selection was entrusted to a Mr John Millar. (AJHR 1871, D-3A: 6,18)

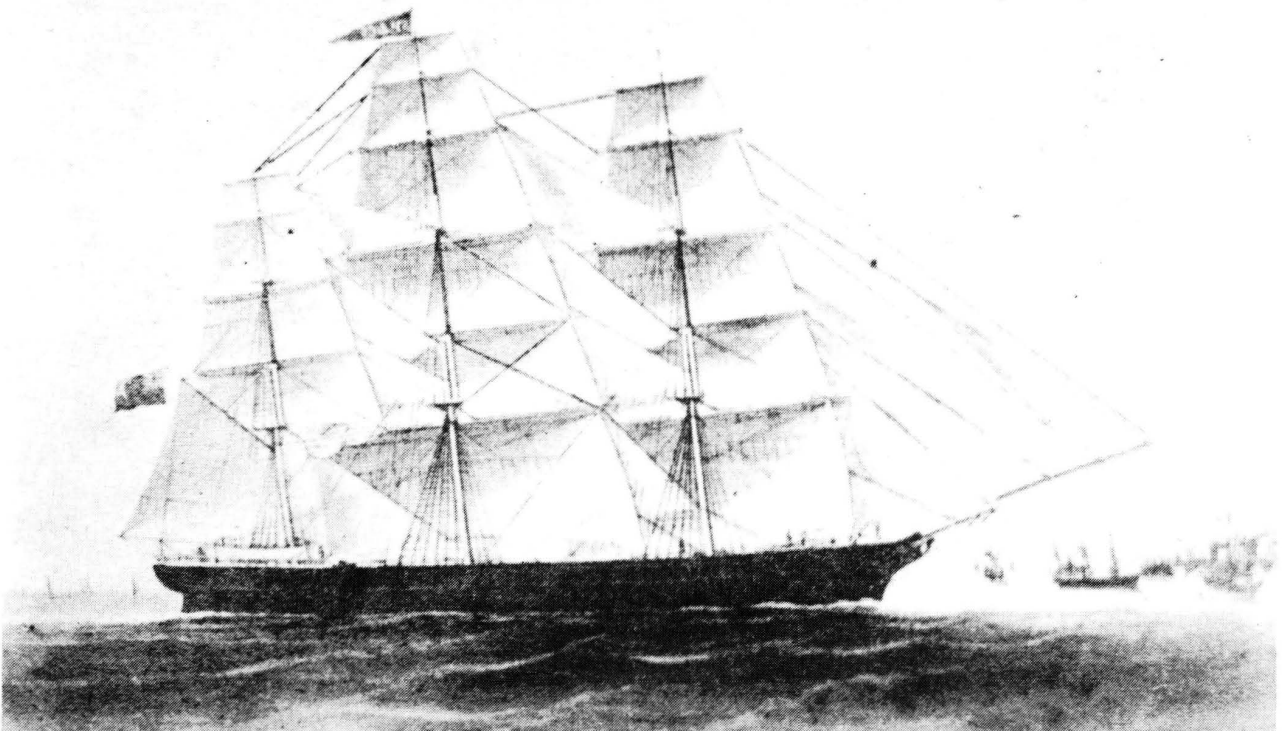
The same request was made in Denmark. Featherston later wrote that Bishop Monrad's son, Johannes, who had recently returned from New Zealand, "had warmly entered into the scheme and (had) kindly volunteered to select the Danish contingent." (AJHR 1871, D-3A: 6) The role Johannes Monrad played is unknown, but one Wilken Horneman of Copenhagen was the agent finally entrusted with the task, upon Bishop Monrad's recommendation. Horneman also had a sub-agent recruiting on his behalf in the Swedish city of Malmo, across The Sound from Copenhagen. At least eight 'Danes', were in fact Swedes, and most likely they were recruited at Malmo.

Despite Monrad's recommendation, the Danish agent chose to blatantly disregard his instructions. Instead of the desired young families, a large number of single men were sent. Single men were considered less likely than families to settle where they were deposited. Some men were very young, maybe as young as 14! One couple, Ferdinand and Caroline Olsen, were delivered to the departure point in Copenhagen by the police - with the full knowledge of the agent. The Olsens were to prove a major embarrassment in New Zealand, as well as an irritation aboard the ship. Horneman also failed to process the party's emigration documents. Thus they departed as 'tourists' rather than as emigrants.

When the *England* immigrants arrived in New Zealand, Halcombe remarked that they were not as well chosen as the Norwegians had been. This description dogged them for the first few years. As it happened, some later proved to be extremely valuable settlers. Possibly the Monrad family felt uncomfortable about the dumping of women and young children in such harsh environs. They were well aware of conditions in the New Zealand bush and may have influ-

Below:

The England, which was under charter to Shaw Savill & Albion for all six of its voyages to New Zealand. These were: Dunedin [1865, 1868, 1869], Auckland [1867] and Wellington [1871, 1872]. The 1871 and terrible 1872 trips, both including many Scandinavians, were under the command of the ship's owner, Captain Harrington. It was built in 1863 by Robinson Sunderland, was 'ship-rigged', weighed 853 tons and measured 168.5 x 34.3 x 21.5 feet. Its passages ranged between 87 and 112 days from port to port. On 30 June 1871, the England was towed out into Wellington Harbour to begin its voyage home. It sailed on 3 July and was off Deal, England, on October 19th. (Wellington Maritime Museum. Photo: Otago Early Settlers Museum)



enced Horneman's actions. More likely though, the excess of young men reflects the lack of interest shown by families in this 'great opportunity'. The agent and sub-agent may have then made up numbers as best they could, although there is ample evidence of their greed.

The sub-agent at Malmo seems deserving of much of this criticism. Herman Gronwall, who was possibly the *England's* interpreter, applied to him for passage to Christchurch, New Zealand, about six weeks before the party was to depart for England. The interpreter is known to have been one of the three men who went to Christchurch.

Gronwall, whose brother lived in Canterbury, was paying the full fare to New Zealand - the Swedish equivalent of £22/4/5. He then stayed in lodgings in Copenhagen for 41 days, at 1/11d per day, awaiting the departure date. As well as charging him extra board, and at a dearer daily rate, the greedy Horneman charged him for clothing and other items he did not receive. He was also charged a £1 commission fee, payable to the Malmo sub-agent, which none of the other emigrants had to pay. The accommodation in Copenhagen should have been the expense of the agent for part of Gronwall's stay, but someone conveniently forgot to fill in binding details on the contract, and so Gronwall had to foot the whole bill. In addition, Horneman also charged both the New Zealand Government, and Gronwall himself, for Gronwall's full fare. It took some time to resolve the matter in favour of Gronwall and the New Zealand Government. The Government was eventually reimbursed. (NA: IM 6/7/1)

Oleef Olsen was another who was cheated. The sub-agent told him all berths were taken, but that he could get him aboard - for an extra fee of more than double what the others were paying. This equalled about four times the sum the New Zealand Government had demanded as a bond. Olsen was not given, or even offered, a receipt for this payment so was unable to get a refund. Fritz Braunsted and August Gustafson took over the passages of two men who changed their minds. They had to pay extra deposits to the sub-agent, despite the original ticket-holders having already paid - and forfeited - this sum. The agents did not remove the earlier people's names from the passenger list, and apparently pocketed the extra deposits.

On top of everything else, all passengers recruited by Horneman and his sub-agent also had to pay for their travel to England - even though the New Zealand Government was covering that cost. This brought the emigrants' total deposit to £2/4/7 per adult, instead of the £1/2/- they should have paid.

John Morrison, from the office of the New Zealand Government Agency in London, threatened to take the matter to the Emigration Officer of the Danish Government, at which point Horneman began to relent. It appears the matter was eventually resolved. (NA: IM 6/7/1)

Surprisingly the New Zealand Government continued to use this dishonest man to recruit emigrants. He had been caught cheating the emigrants and cheating the New Zealand Government. He was also cheating the Danish Government's recordkeepers by not supplying details of people emigrating. Peter Birkelund, in 'Danish Emigration to New Zealand' (p. 16-17) records that the Allan-Line agent in Copenhagen [Horneman?], often sold emigrants tickets to London only, which was illegal under the circumstances. The emigrants would then have tickets issued in London for their voyage to New Zealand. Between 500 and 1,000 emigrants from the period 1871-1875 would have been affected by this deception.

Unlike the *Celaeno* passengers and emigrants on other ships which have been researched [including the Swedes, Danes and Germans on the *Humboldt*] there is no clear evidence that the *England* emigrants included groups from the same villages or districts. Few birthplaces of the Danish passengers are known. In any case, internal migration makes birthplaces of limited value in the case of adults. The birthplaces of the Swedes are recorded in Sten

Aminoff's 'Svenskarna i Nya Zeeland', but these reveal little in the way of trends.

More useful in researching the Swedes on the *Humboldt* were the birthplaces of the young children of these families, although in the *England's* case the method again reveals little. Four Swedish couples had young families, all born in different counties - let alone parishes - although when the Swedes from the *Celaeno* are included in this group, a slightly different picture emerges. William Erenstrom from the *England*, and Marie Christensen from the *Celaeno* [who married at Nes Church, Norway] were both from Brunskog parish, Varmland county, Sweden. However, both were far from Brunskog by the time the first child of each was born in 1869. Maja Cajsa Andersen, wife of Peter Johan Andersen, was born in Varnum parish, Varmland, as were the couple's two children. They are known to have left this parish saying they were bound for New Zealand. The Berquist family, from the *Celaeno*, were in Boda parish, Varmland, in late 1869 when their son was born. Varmland adjoins the Norwegian border near the area where the *Celaeno* immigrants were recruited, and it is possible there was knowledge of individuals who left on the earlier ship. A major road meanders through the Nes and Ullern districts of Norway and then through Varmland, including through Brunskog. Thus the information, if not the agents, may have travelled this route.

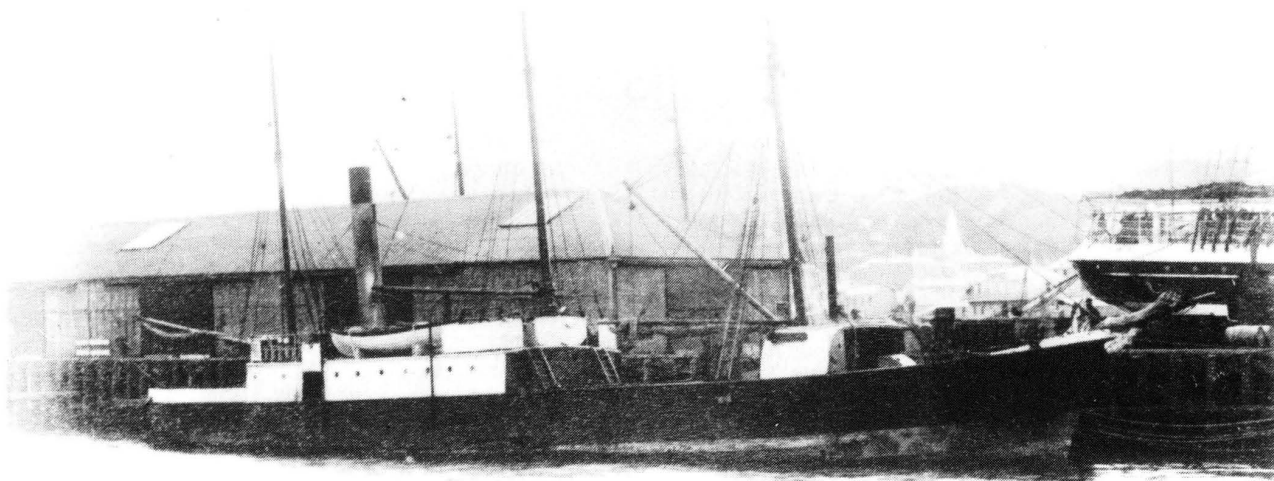
William Erenstrom, a miller, and Marie Christensen, the wife of a baker-miller, were the only people born in Brunskog parish whom Aminoff could verify as having emigrated to New Zealand. Maja Cajsa Andersen and one of her two sons [the other died at sea] were apparently the only ones born in Varnum parish to come here. Similarly, there is no evidence that the Blixt or Berquist families headed a great migration from any parishes they were associated with.

Probably most of the recruiting for the *England* went on close to the cities where the agents were established, namely Copenhagen, and the Swedish cities of Gothenburg and Malmo. The Stelin family were certainly from the Gothenburg area. This helps explain why the seemingly urban-dwelling *England* passengers were considered less suitable for the work intended for them, than the rural-dwelling Norwegians.

The northern winter restricted shipping from Copenhagen and Gothenburg [although Gothenburg's port does not ice up] and so it was impractical to plan for both groups to arrive in London on the same day, let alone the day the *England* was to sail. The Malmo emigrants joined the rest of the Danish contingent in Copenhagen and, as it happened, the direct steamer from Copenhagen to London was withdrawn due to the icing-up of ports. The party had to travel by land to Hamburg and cross the English Channel on the first available steamer. They arrived three days before the *England's* departure date. The Swedish contingent arrived the next day.

The *England* had suffered damage during its trip back from New Zealand and had required a thorough overhaul, including being recoppered. As a result, the New Zealand Government had to pay the emigrants' board and lodging in London until the ship was ready to receive them. The ship, commanded by its owner, Captain George Henry Harrington, was to carry about 110 passengers. Captain Harrington was accompanied by his wife and niece. The surgeon was George Walker, and the ship's agents were Messrs. Levin & Co.

The 77 Scandinavians aboard included 12 married couples, 11 children, 39 single men and 3 single women. Of these, the Swedish contingent comprised 6 married couples with 6 children between them, 4 single men and 1 single woman. One of the married couples, John Jacobsen and Caroline Anderson, may have married just before leaving Sweden, or on the *England* itself, as Aminoff states. Certainly they were described as married when they embarked in London. The remaining single woman married a Norwe-



The SS Go-Ahead [Official No. 56189], which was built in 1867 by Thomas B. Seath & Co., Rutherglen, Co. Lanark. At 123.38 tons or 83.90 nett tons, it measured 112 x 20 x 6.5 feet, and had one compound 30 NHP engine and a topsail schooner rig. Over the years it had a number of owners, mainly in Auckland. Its owner at the time of the Foxton visit was Peter Doile, a mariner of Auckland. During his visit to Foxton, Doile had been attempting to sell shares in a company which would own the vessel, but the people there thought it too small for the work they anticipated, such as shipping cattle. In its favour was a fully-laden draft of only six feet [required to cross the bar of the Manawatu River], while its twin screws permitted it to turn in nearly its own length. Later in 1871 it was sold to the Taranaki Steam Navigation Co. Ltd.

This photo was taken after the Go-Ahead had undergone alterations in 1880. The vessel was involved in a collision [1870], and two strandings [1877 and 1884], before being totally wrecked two miles south of Cape Kidnappers on 20 May 1887. (Wellington Maritime Museum)

gian crew member, Hans Martin Andersen, at Wellington shortly after arrival. The Danish contingent consisted of 6 married couples, with 5 children between them, 35 single men and 2 single women. Of these, one single woman and one single man, both named Larsen and aged 34, appear to have been related.

Also aboard were 16 people bound for Napier, of whom at least 13 were single women. Obviously there was a need for vigilant chaperones on the ship, even if the young people concerned could not speak the same language. This party was: Charlotte Andrews [or Anderson] (18); Anne Maslin (21); Elizabeth Osborn (28); Mary Bowden (30); Mary Gill (23); M.A. King (21); C.S. Perry (16); Eliza Wiltshire (19); Cathie Angus (23); Maggie Angus (19); Helen Strachan (18); Isabella Coupar (22); Elsie Stewart (19); Johanna Casey (24); Alice Casey (22) and H.D. Knight (12). (Archives, Hawkes Bay Museum)

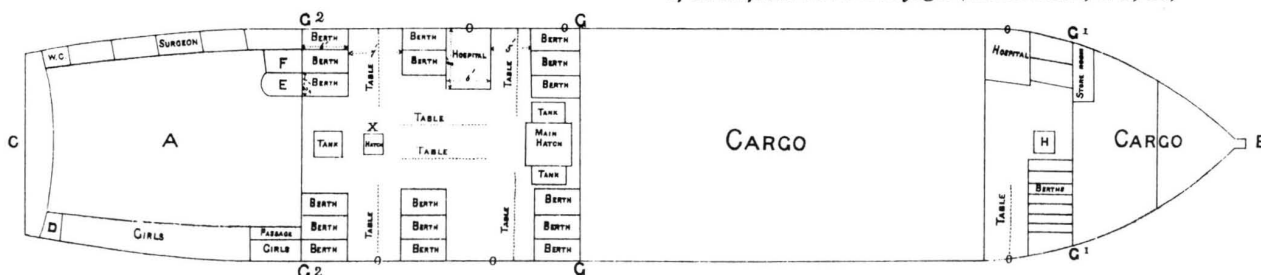
Also known to have been aboard were John and Sarah Sheil, and family. John (64) had retired from the Royal Navy five months earlier, after 15 years as Engineer-in-charge of the *HMS Pigmy*, a small steam vessel plying the Portsmouth-Isle of Wight area. Another passenger was Elizabeth Keeble, wife of Thomas Keeble, the ship's steward. (Green: 115-6; NA: IM 6/7/1)

The saloon passengers were Messrs. Robinson, Hyland, Walker, Miss Willis; and also the Catholic Bishop Viard and his associates, the Reverend Father O'Reilly, Reverends Cummins and M. Tresallet, and Brother Cyprien (sic). The French-born Bishop Philippe Joseph Viard [1809-1872] had joined Bishop Pompallier in New Zealand in 1839, to minister to the Maori. In 1860 he became the Bishop of Wellington. He had gone to the Vatican and Europe in 1868, and was returning as a very sick man. (Keys: 220; Broadbent: 560-1)

The *England's* fifth voyage to New Zealand began at Gravesend on 3 December 1870. A few hours later, at 2:00 am on December 4th, Ellen Jacobsen Thomsen, wife of Hans Christian Thomsen, gave birth to a daughter. The Doctor's report gave the baby's name as Alexander; however, the Stoney Creek School roll refers to her as 'Atlantic Thomsen'. (NA: IM 6/7/1; McLennan: 64)

The first part of the voyage was spent in "variable" weather, unlike the *Celaeno* six weeks earlier. On 1 January 1871, the *England* "spoke" to another vessel at 1°N 23°W, and in due course crossed the Equator, 38 days out, on January 18th. [The *Celaeno* had crossed the Equator on November 28th, 45 days out.] On the 21st the *England* "spoke" to a vessel at 3°S 27°W [quoted as 27°S 3°W]. (WI 20/3/1871)

The accommodation layout of the *England*, as it was at the time of its ill-fated 1871-2 voyage. (AJHR 1872, G-3, 36)



From C to G shows Saloon; From G¹ to G² shows between decks; A - Saloon; B - Fore; C - Aft; D - Water Closet; E - Captain's Cabin; F - Passage; GGGGGG - Representing between decks; X - Hatch for Married Couples, Main Hatch; H - Hatchway for Men; O - Port Holes (7-inch Scuttle).

Hospital, in aft part; breadth 8 feet; length outside, 6 feet; height, 7 feet 6 inches. Hospital, in fore part; breadth, 8 feet; length outside, 6 feet 2 inches; height, 7 feet 6 inches.

Aft part of Ship; length, 46 feet; breadth, 32 feet, - for 70 adults; without Hospital for 2 adults.

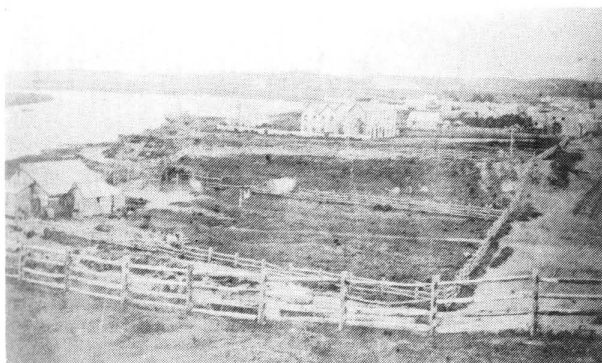
Fore part of Ship; length, 11 feet 6 inches; breadth, 32 feet, - for 16 adults; without Hospital for 2 adults.

Sadly, on January 24th, in the South Atlantic, Gustav Emil, son of Peter John and Maja Cajsa Andersen, died of diarrhoea, aged 1 year, 7 months. (NA: IM 6/7/1) Long sea voyages were especially hard on children of around this age.

On February 8th, 67 days out [and 3 days after the *Celaeno* reached Wellington], the *England* crossed the meridian of the Cape of Good Hope. Easting was run down from 51-52S. The ship battled heavy seas south of Kerguelen Island in the southern Indian Ocean, and on the 23rd they crossed the meridian of Cape Leeuwin, Western Australia.

On March 7th [the day the *Celaeno* passengers were flooded out at Palmerston], the *England's* passengers sighted the west coast of the South Island. The next day they "spoke" to the *SS Alhambra*, 60 miles west of Hokitika. They were then 94 days out of England. On March 12th Sarah Shiel, wife of John Shiel, gave birth to Emma Esther, her fifth child, and his ninth. (Green: 115-6)

Those anxious to leave the ship were frustrated by a succession of baffling north-east and south-east gales. When the ship reached Cook Strait on the 17th, the gales were replaced by light airs and calms. Finally, on Sunday the 19th, the *England* arrived at Wellington, 104 days from port to port. The general health of those aboard was described as having been very good throughout the voyage, but the newspapers erroneously reported that there had been no deaths. (WI 20/3/1871)



Foxton in 1879, looking north from the southern end of Main Street. On the evening of 8 April 1871, the Scandinavians from the England settled into tents around Gray's Store, on the left of the photo, and the Foxton Family Hotel - the large building in its centre. The Celaeno passengers may have stayed at Gray's Store also. (Alexander Turnbull Library)

By 5 pm, the *England* could be seen from Queen's Wharf and much excitement developed on-shore in anticipation of its arrival. However, the reception awaiting the *England* was rather more cordial than that which had met the *Celaeno* seven weeks earlier. The local Catholic community, and many Protestants, had arrived to welcome Bishop Viard. They, with the Bishop and his companions, then moved off to the Cathedral. Probably the Scandinavians remained on-board at least overnight. It would have been evening before the ship anchored.

The third birth on this voyage occurred on March 25th, in Wellington Harbour. Elizabeth Keeble, wife of the ship's steward, Thomas Keeble, gave birth to a daughter who was also named Elizabeth. Thomas Keeble (25) was from Norfolk, England, and was working his passage to New Zealand. (NA: IM 6/7/1; Green: 115)

Immediately after arrival, a Mr I.E. March, the Immigration Officer from Canterbury, visited the ship to recruit for his province. Herman Gronwall was already bound for Canterbury where his brother lived. Another two Scandinavian men agreed to go there as well. Possibly some of the *England's* crew went to Canterbury, as nine British crew members left the ship by 'correct' means, while a further six, also British, deserted it. (Green: 115, which lists their names)

While at the barracks, two of the unmarried women found employment as domestics. The third single woman in the group, Swedish-born Johanna Wilhelmina Olsen, married Hans Martin Andersen, the Norwegian sailor from the *England*. The wedding took place on March 23rd, at A.F. Halcombe's Wellington home. They then joined the Manawatu contingent.

Two married couples and two single men, whose previous employment left them "unfitted for bush life", also found employment in Wellington. (AJHR 1871, D-3A: 21) C.J. Toxward was the substitute interpreter throughout this period. He had also employed one of the single women.

After three weeks at the Mount Cook Barracks, at Te Aro, waiting for the *Luna* to become available, the steamer



Te Peeti Te Awe Awe [c1820-1884] was almost certainly the unnamed Rangitane chief who supplied the England passengers with potatoes and pumpkins at Ngawhakarau on 10 April 1871, during the party's trek through the mud to Palmerston. Te Peeti had played a major role in the sale of the Ahu-a-Turanga Block which included the Palmerston North area. In 1866 he led a 100-strong Rangitane warparty to assist Government forces in the Taranaki campaign, for which he was awarded a sword of honour and a flag. In 1868, aided by rifles the Rangitane had been able to retain after that campaign, he was able to challenge Ngati Raukawa over Rangitane land at Opiki which Ngati Raukawa was trying to claim. Fortunately this dispute was settled by mediation. Thereafter Te Peeti used the Native Land Court to seek justice and the return of tribal land.

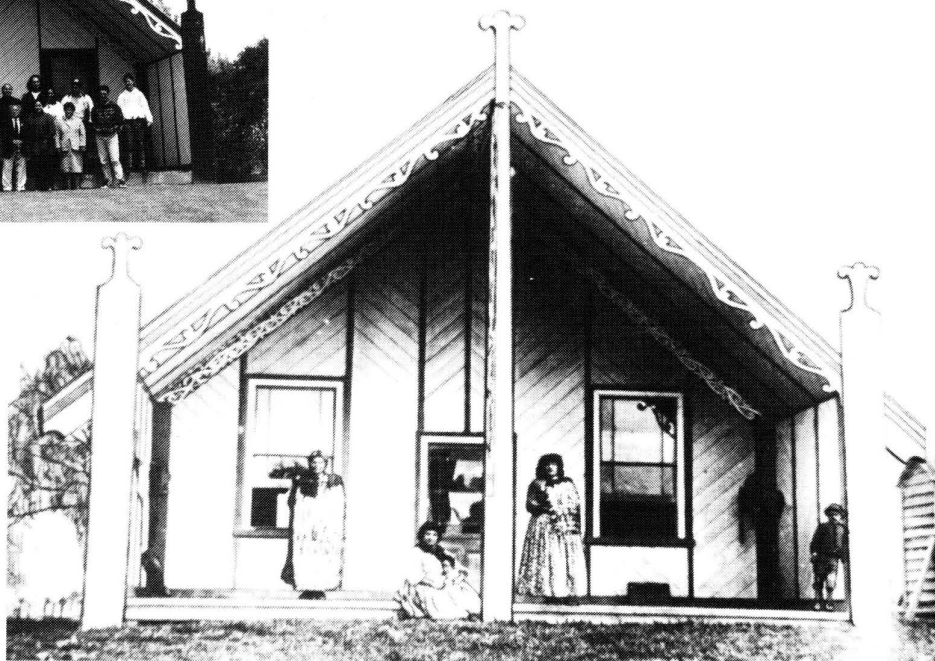
Te Peeti's village, called Awapuni, was established in about 1866 opposite what became the Karere Scandinavian Block. The anonymous letter-writer from the Celaeno described the intense interest the Maori showed toward their new neighbours in early 1871, and spoke of how safe the newcomers felt, despite initial misgivings. Te Peeti built the meetinghouse 'Kikiwhenua' at Awapuni in anticipation of the January 1883 visit of the Maori King, Tawhiao, and his entourage of about 200 horsemen. This 99'x30' building, which became a local landmark, burned down in 1925. A marble statue of Te Peeti Te Awe Awe stands in Palmerston North's Square.

(SOURCES INCLUDE: M.H. Durie's 'Te Peeti Te Awe Awe', in 'The Dictionary of N.Z. Biography: Vol. 1'; I. Matheson's 'Notes on The Maori History of P.N.'; MT 7/1/1883; 'P.N. Fire Brigade Scrapbook: 93. Photo from T.L. Buick's 'Old Manawatu')



Rangiotu's well-known landmark, the Rangitane meetinghouse 'Te Rangimarie', which was about three years old when the England passengers camped nearby in 1871. Built by Hoani Meihana Te Rangiotu, after whom Rangiotu was later named, it is now the second oldest building in the Manawatu. This photo was taken around 1888.

Inset is 'Te Rangimarie, with members of the Te Awe Awe family and guests in the foreground, in November 1993. (Both photos: Ian Matheson)



Go-Ahead was chartered. George and Louisa Snelson, the future 'mother and father of Palmerston North', joined them on this voyage, bringing their house [in pieces] also. Snelson had visited Palmerston the previous December and was establishing a general store and ironmongery there, in partnership with his former employer, E.W. Mills & Co., of Wellington. The couple had lost the second of their two young children on January 20th. When interviewed in 1891, George Snelson said that the *Go-Ahead* sailed on Good Friday. (ES 1/11/1901; 'Snelson Scrapbook': 271, clipping dated 13/6/1891; Petersen, 1973: 68)

The *Go-Ahead* reached the Foxton Wharf between 12:00 am and 1:00 pm on April 8th, and immediately began unloading its passengers and cargo. *"The immigrants looked stout and healthy, and numbered, with the women, somewhere about eighty. There is a large majority of men in this party, to what there was in the last"*, recorded the *'Wellington Independent'*. (15/4/1871)

Again, unlike the fanfare surrounding the arrival of the *Celaeno* passengers almost two months earlier, the Foxton reporter was more interested in *"the arrival of the steamer (which) caused a gathering of townspeople about the wharf, and many people went aboard to visit her accommodation. In the evening a meeting was held by the captain [Captain Doile] to see what encouragement the storekeepers and settlers were likely to give towards the enterprise by taking up shares in the company."* (WI 15/4/1871) The steamer had to leave by the night's tide so no settlement was reached. Clearly the novelty of Scandinavian immigrants had worn off, both in Wellington and in Foxton.

That night, the group camped in tents around Alexander Gray's Store and Thomas Uppadine Cook's Foxton Family Hotel. The following morning they began their journey to Palmerston. Snelson remained behind in Foxton for some days, but later recalled that the journey these immigrants were obliged to make to reach their new home was *"very rough and tedious. The horses were up to their knees in mud nearly the whole way. A large number of the men walked and the women and children were placed on the carts, which were also*

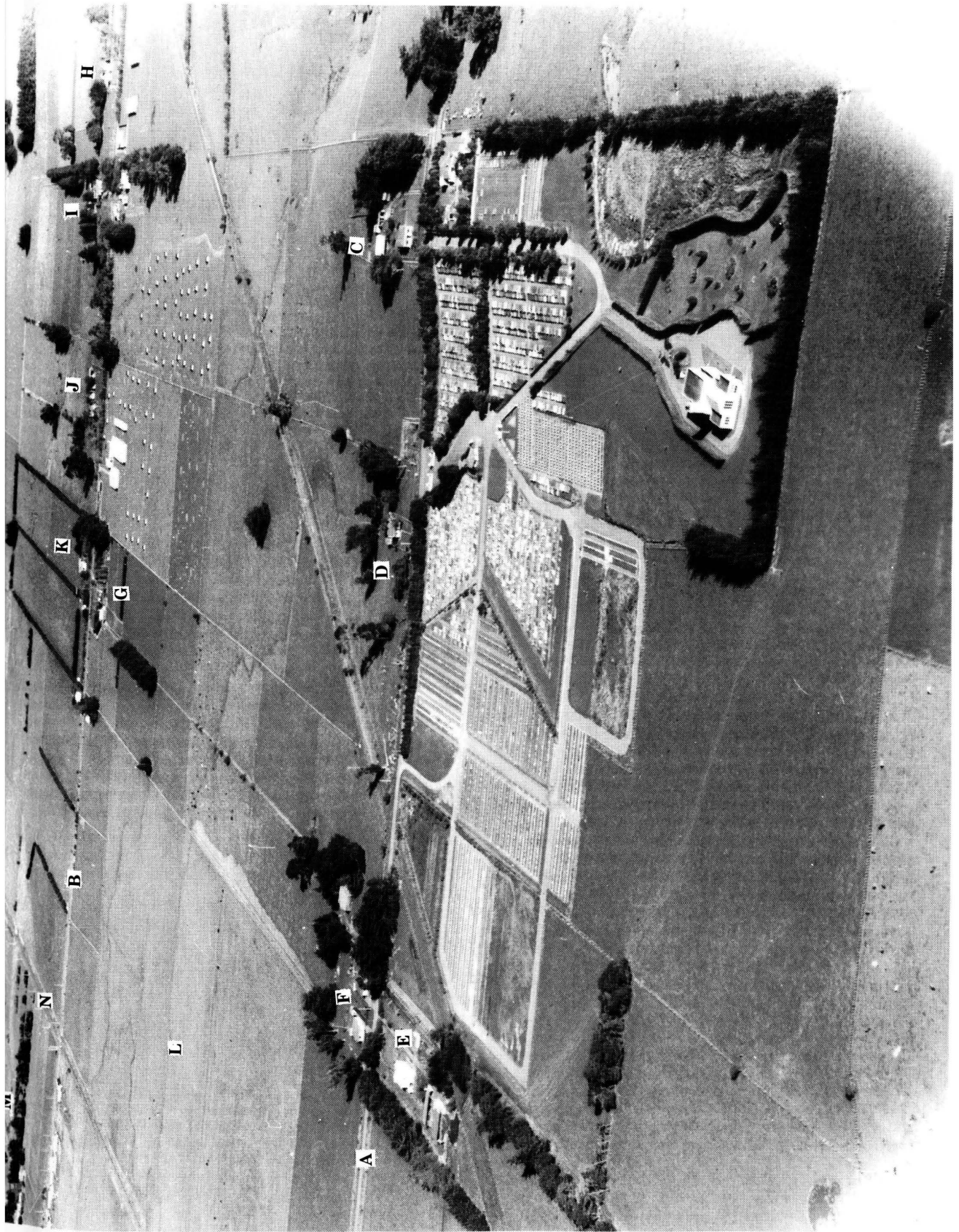
used to convey the baggage and provisions." (Snelson Scrapbook: 271)

The party spent their second night in the Manawatu at Oroua Bridge, so-named after the bridge built over the Oroua River in 1867. This was near the Rangitane village of Oroua Piriti [which means 'Oroua Bridge'], later renamed Rangiotu.

The next morning, the party resumed their trudge toward Palmerston, and before long they reached the Rangitane village of Ngawhakarau. There they found that the villagers had prepared a welcome gift for them. A number of kete [flax baskets] of potatoes and several tons of pumpkins had been piled at the roadside for them to collect. When the Scandinavian party drew alongside, the chief of the village, almost certainly Te Peeti Te Awe Awe, welcomed them, saying that the Maori were glad they had come to make roads and to live in this country. He was aware that they had no potatoes and asked that they accept this gift of food and seed, adding that at some time in the future, some poor Maori may have need of a similar gift from them. "After a suitable reply from a gentleman who happened to be present", the Scandinavians moved on. This generous act of friendship had done much to allay their fears of these new neighbours. (AJHR 1871, D-3: 21)

It is not known for certain how this huge pile of produce made its way to Palmerston, although very likely it was this greatly appreciated necessity which received priority over some of the passengers' luggage. It is known that one dray was emptied of baggage at Ngawhakarau. These temporarily abandoned items were ruined soon afterwards when the Oroua River flooded, much to the dismay of the unfortunate owners. (NA: IM 6/7/1)

The whole of the second day was spent covering the last 10 miles to Palmerston. Transport difficulties over this section had increased ten-fold since the *Celaeno* party made the journey. The early rains had reduced the road to a state where "three good horses required a long day's struggle to get through with a lightly loaded dray". Halcombe reported that he had seen three of the finest horses in the country come through this bush 'road' thoroughly



Previous page:

This photo of Kelvin Grove shows the Scandinavian portion of the Stoney Creek Scandinavian and Roadmen's Block, taken from above the boundary fence of Lots 45 and 46 [which front Stoney Creek Road]. Diagonally across the photo is the abandoned railway deviation which in the 1920s and 1930s had been prepared as a shortened route between Whakarongo and the relocated Main Trunk Line (see R.P. Jensen: c1939 photo) In the foreground is the Kelvin Grove Cemetery and crematorium, most of which covers what were Hans Olsson's Lots 49 and 50. The main boundary fences of the various properties are clearly defined in the photo, as are James Line (A) and Robert's Line (B). [see map in Appendix] On the far side of James Line can be seen two houses with Scandinavian connections. (C) is the former home of Christian Jensen, son of Knud and Karen Jensen. In 1966 this house was occupied by Christian's son, Ken, who had been born in the house opposite it. The Jensen house survives, although it has recently undergone major alterations. ('Skandia I': 29-32) (D) marks the 'Hansen Cottage', built by Niels Christian Hansen and his wife Ragnhild (q.v.). Until recently the centrepiece of an unsuccessful private museum on the site, this cottage's future could seem in doubt. (E) is the former Schnell farmhouse which was recently burnt down, with the two cemetery employees' houses opposite marked (F).

The closer side of Robert's Line is dominated by the various sheds of Hunter's Poultry Farm which covered Lots 61-63. Adjoining the poultry farm, on Lot 60, is (G) the former home of Mads Mikklesen, which still stands. (H) is Lot 68, once owned by Otto and Maren Tiller; (I) is Lot 69 [Dahlstrom/Burr]; (J) Lot 68 [Kasper Setter]; and (K) Lot 67 [owners include H.M. Anderson, Anders Neilson, Charles Dahl jnr. An airstrip was on this property around this time.]. (L) indicates the backs of Lots 1-9, which fronted Napier Road, while (M) shows Napier Road below the Terrace, and the two-storied 'McRae Homestead.' (N) is the Manawatu-Hawkes Bay railway line.

Photos appear elsewhere of (D), (H), (K) and (M), with (H) being an aerial view c1968 which shows the close proximity of Palmerston North, just obscured here.

This photo was published on 7 May 1966 following the decision to take much of this area into the Palmerston North City Boundary from 1967. Housing now covers much of the land in the upper right hand portion of the photo, while James Line is now lined by numerous small lifestyle blocks. The cemetery is also considerably enlarged. (Photo 'M810' courtesy of the 'Evening Standard')

exhausted. They had taken nearly 10 hours to drag seven hundred-weight over the distance. The cost of transportation had also increased from £2 per ton to £7 per ton. Even a mountain range would have presented less of an obstacle to the transportation of supplies than this flat stretch of road in such a muddy condition, Halcombe suggested. (AJHR 1871, D-2: 4; D3-A: 21)

That night, April 10th, the exhausted party spent their first night in Palmerston. Probably, like the previous group, they stayed in and around the Palmerston Hotel, or near the encampment which had hastily been created in Scandia Street after the floods. No doubt there was an enthusiastic, and sympathetic, welcome from the *Celaeno* party. Probably all were total strangers, with the possible exception of Marie Christensen and William Erenstrom, assuming they remembered each other from Brunskog parish. Certainly the two families are recalled as good friends.

The following morning they were taken to the Stoney Creek Scandinavian Block where they were to be settled. This block covers much of present-day Kelvin Grove and Whakarongo. The married couples were to receive forty-acre properties, like the *Celaeno* couples. The single men received only twenty acres. As these properties were not surveyed into such exact acreages, allotments varied somewhat.

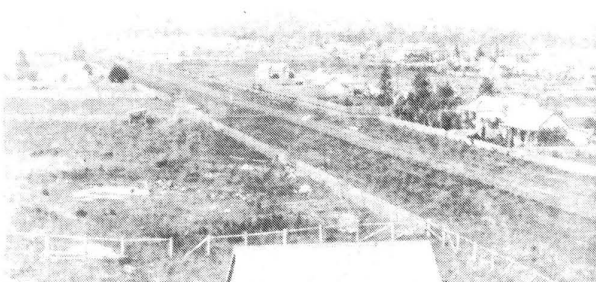


*The only part of the Stoney Creek Scandinavian and Roadmen's Block which is subject to any serious flooding is the part below the Terrace fronting Napier Road. This photo, taken in spring 1992, shows Lots 7 [A.C. Christensen/N.C. Christiansen] and 6 [T. Gundersen] as open ground, with the tree-covered Lot 5 [M. Boesen/C.A. Andersen] in the distance. Another view which includes the gateway to Lot 7 is shown with the N.C. Christiansen biography. These are the properties re-allotted to some *Celaeno* passengers from the Karere Scandinavian Block. This area has been submerged during a number of the district's worst floods, including 1880, 1941 and 1953. (Joan and Ivan Anderson)*

Whatever the two groups thought of their new home at the time, on April 14th they felt strongly enough to present a petition of thanks to A.F. Halcombe which is printed elsewhere in this book. Fifty-five men signed it, either personally or by proxy, as some men could not write their names. (AJHR 1871, D-3A: 24; NA: IM 6/7/1)

When George Snelson finally travelled to Palmerston, his difficult ride lasted from 8 am to 5 pm. The iron for his house-cum-store was brought up by sled. Louisa Snelson and her sixteen-year-old ward, Matilda Montgomery [later Mrs J.E. Perrin], followed by canoe in May, their trip taking three days. (ES 1/11/1901)

The *England* passengers faced greater establishment costs than their predecessors from the *Celaeno*. These included extra time spent in Wellington, the cost of chartering the *Go-Ahead*, the need to employ a temporary interpreter [Toxward], and the extra transport costs in the Manawatu. However, it is noticeable that the single men who took up the land allotted to them found repayments far less of a burden than their married companions did.



Palmerston North around 1885, facing south-east and taken from atop a building near the corner of Rangitikei and Featherston Streets. The Square is in the distance on the extreme left. Note the bush between the township and the Manawatu River. (Palmerston North Public Library)

THE EARLY YEARS IN PALMERSTON NORTH

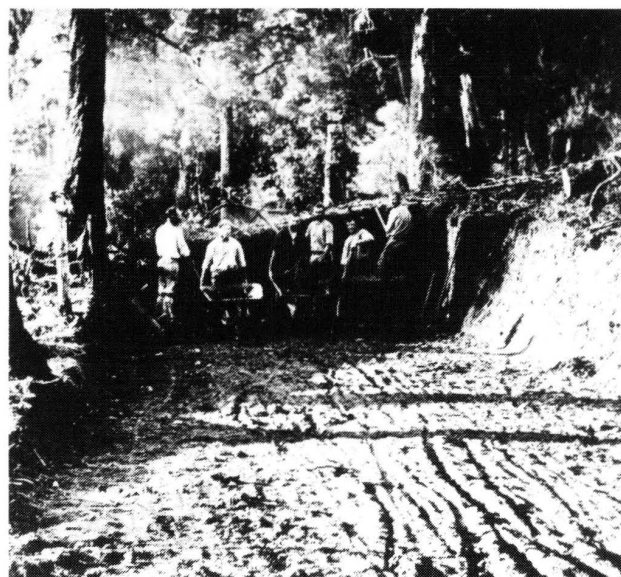
The Papaioea Clearing, the future site of Palmerston North, was part of the traditional land of the Rangitane iwi. Inter-tribal warfare around the 1820s had cost them land along the Manawatu coast, but the invading Ngati Toa and, more particularly, Ngati Raukawa, had not taken the Upper Manawatu where the Papaioea Clearing lay. In September 1858 an agreement was reached between Rangitane and Ngati Raukawa, that Rangitane's traditional title to Upper Manawatu still held firm. Rangitane was willing to sell some of their land to the Crown. This 250,000 acre block they named 'Ahu-a-Turanga' after an esteemed ancestor of the Manawatu hapu of Rangitane. The Papaioea Clearing, but not the adjoining Hokowhitu Native Reserve, became the property of the Crown. Surveying began in October 1858.

The first European known to have seen the Papaioea Clearing was Stephen Charles Hartley, in the late 1840s or early 1850s. However, the first real attention it received from Europeans was when Hirawanu, a Rangitane chief from Raukawa, took the 32-year-old Scottish surveyor, John Tiffin Stewart, to see it in December 1859. In July 1864, the Te Ahu-a-Turanga Block was formally transferred to the Crown, at a cost of £12,000.

When the Wellington Provincial Government was seeking a site for a township in Upper Manawatu, Stewart, then the Chief District Surveyor of the Province, recalled the Papaioea Clearing. Thus, on 3 October 1866, the 'Township of Palmerston' was officially proclaimed by the Wellington Provincial Government, despite the Otago Provincial Government having proclaimed a 'Township of Palmerston' in their Province the previous year. [The postal authorities attached the suffix 'North' to Manawatu's township in 1871, and it became the official title in 1877 when the town became a borough.]

In 1865 Stewart was placed in charge of surveying and roading in the Manawatu. In 1866 he became Chief Engineer of the Province. He was responsible for planning the original streets and sections in Palmerston North, and also the 17-acre Square at its centre.

Access problems hindered the Provincial Government's plans for the township. The sometimes-dangerous Manawatu River was the main access for heavy goods, while the unmetalled roads were transformed into a sea of mud during winter. The first land auctions held in Wellington in 1866 attracted few buyers, most of these being prominent speculators, including J. Joseph, J.E. Nathan and Sir George Grey, who was then New Zealand's Governor. The first auction, on 7 November 1866, resulted in Robert Menzies and Amos Burr purchasing land they had already built on. Probably Menzies's was a hut, but Burr's was the Palmerston Hotel, built earlier that year. Land at Karere, Stoney Creek [Whakarongo] and Raukawa [near Ashhurst] was of more interest and a number of future prominent land owners made purchases around that time. These included David McEwen, head of the large McEwen clan, Peter Stewart [both at Karere], David Rowland [at nearby Tiakitahuna, also called Jackeytown], John T. Dalrymple [at Stoney Creek] and William Waugh [at Raukawa]. David McEwen was to describe Waugh as "The Father of Manawatu" for the assistance and advice he offered the new settlers as they broke in their properties. (ES 4/3/1911) The former Danish Prime Minister, Bishop D.G. Monrad, was another who purchased his Karere property during this period. (WPGG, 1867: 18) Henry West, brother



Road-making in the Manawatu with pick, shovel and wheelbarrow around 1900. The tools and the scene would apply also to the 1870s. (Palmerston North Public Library, this copy from V.L. McLennan-Boman)

of L.G. West, purchased his property at Fitzherbert in 1869 (WPGG, 1869: 8)

Progress in the township, however, was so slow that by February 1871, the only buildings known to have been there were the Palmerston Hotel, Menzies's hut and the survey office in what is now Coleman Place.

Roadworks, such as they were, had been done with much reliance on Maori labour. A.F. Halcombe had offered the role of Overseer of Maori labourers in the Manawatu, to Amos Burr in 1865. Burr had lived in the Foxton area since 1842 and had worked as an interpreter. In 1840 he had lost both fore-arms in a cannon-firing accident aboard the New Zealand Company ship *Cuba* in Wellington Harbour. In the course of these roadworks, Amos' wife, Lydia, became one of the two first European women to see the Papaioea Clearing. She was accompanying Lady Fox, wife of four-times New Zealand Prime Minister, Sir William Fox.

In 1866, Burr wrote that he had 50 men working 18 miles apart. One party was about to start work on the Ahuriri Track, now Napier Road. This track was to pass the future Stoney Creek Scandinavian Block. (McLennan-Boman: 122)

In 1867, Stewart and the Engineer of Roads from Hawkes Bay Province inspected the Manawatu Gorge with a view to building a road along its wall. There may have been a Maori track through the Gorge, but certainly there was an old track over the Tararua Ranges a little south of the Gorge, and another over the Ruahine Ranges, north of the Gorge, near the present Saddle Road. The Engineers were instructed to begin work on this road, and the first phase was to build a track over the Ruahine Ranges, north of the Gorge. (McLennan-Boman: 126) The Scandinavians were to assist with the Gorge project at its final phase.

In 1869, Amos Burr became Overseer of Roads in the Manawatu for the General Government, at an annual salary of £254/16/-. (AJHR 1872, G-53: 7) In 1870, Stewart resigned his position with the Wellington Provincial Government and became District Engineer of the Public Works

Department of the General Government. (Matheson: 1971: 19) This was the situation the Scandinavian labourers found in early 1871. Burr was their immediate overseer, while he, in turn, was answerable to Stewart.

THE SETTLING-IN PROCESS

Palmerston North in the 1870s did not remain a predominantly Scandinavian settlement for long. Settlers of various origins soon found their way to the district and a wide variety of languages, dialects and accents were spoken in the town. This wider view can be studied in G.C. Petersen's 'Palmerston North: A Centennial History' (1973), I.R. Matheson's 'The Birth of Palmerston North' (1971) and T.L. Buick's 'Old Manawatu' (1903). Still the Scandinavians led the organised settlement of the district and remained a significant percentage of its population during the 1870s.

The centre of Scandinavian activity in early Palmerston North was the Scandinavian Camp in the vicinity of present-day Albert Street, and between Main and Church Streets. Albert Street was originally christened 'Scandia Street' as a result. The bedraggled *Celaeno* passengers moved there in mid-March 1871 after their land flooded. Once again they lived in tents and, later, in rough split-slab huts. The England passengers almost certainly joined them there. The arrival of Manson and Bartholomew's sawmill in late July 1871 enabled better huts to be built, most being two-roomed. (MT 18/8/1934)

Between those whose worldly goods were lost at Karere, and those who left theirs at Ngawhakarau, it is clear that some people were now quite ill-equipped for the conditions they faced. Because of the high cost of transportation through the mud, the luggage remained at Ngawhakarau. Owners were expected to retrieve it themselves. Unfortunately, the Oroua River flooded several times during the winter, saturating the boxes and chests. Everything either washed away or rotted, with the aggrieved owners being refused compensation by Halcombe and the Government. As a result, said Peter Andersen, "we were placed on our sections in empty houses, without food or clothes." (MT 3/9/1879; WI 28/12/1871) Andersen, who lost a chest of clothing, recalled Halcombe's "carelessness" and his indifference to their losses with bitterness. He reminded the townsfolk of Halcombe's actions eight years later when Halcombe attempted to run for the Manawatu seat in Parliament. Others known to have lost their possessions were A. Gustafson, J. Neilsen, N. Neilsen, N. Olsen and possibly the Jacobsens. (NA: IM 6/7/1) Others had been forced to leave their newly-purchased goods in Wellington when the *Go-Ahead* sailed, yet still had to pay for them. (MT 3/9/1871)

The immigrants were left begging for credit from the two storekeepers operating in the township - Andrew Jonson and later George Snelson - even though they faced great difficulties repaying these debts, and the others they owed to the Government. Jonson, a Swedish storekeeper from Foxton, had been appointed agent for the Scandinavian community in Palmerston. He set up his store in the township in early 1871. ('Skandia I: 3) Snelson began business in about May 1871.

High freight costs and the sodden road soon left the Manawatu River as the only supply route for the town. "Provisions became very scarce and at times there was not a bit of food in the (Scandinavian) camp...The arrival of canoes with supplies was, of course, anxiously looked forward to. On one occasion the canoes arrived with two tons of flour, consigned to Mr Snelson, who was then storekeeping, and the crowd appropriated the whole consignment before Mr Snelson could send down his carts to take delivery of it at the landing place, which was then near Terrace End [at the end of Fitzroy Street]. Mr Snelson



George and Louisa Snelson, who travelled from Wellington to Foxton with the second batch of Scandinavians, aboard the *Go-Ahead*. This couple went on to become regarded as the 'father and mother of Palmerston North'. George was four times Mayor of the town while Louisa also played a leading role in community activities. The Scandinavian community valued their generosity in allowing credit in the store in the early days. Louisa had also provided a letter-writing service for them at 6d per letter. [Wigglesworth: 471] (Palmerston North Public Library)

was never paid for the flour and indeed, he never sought payment from the settlers." (Snelson Scrapbook: 271)

The Scandinavians did not forget Snelson's kindness. When in 1879 he ran against Halcombe in the abovementioned General Election, stories contrasting the two appeared in the newspaper - including some in Danish. Peter Andersen stated that had it not been for Snelson's kindness, the immigrants would have starved, and that, unlike Halcombe, Snelson was not receiving any reward from the Government for his charity. (MT 3/9/1879) In addition to the Snelsons' help, the Scandinavians relied heavily on Maori produce for the first year or two. Potatoes, kumara and pigs were the main things traded, while Hoko-whitu Pa was also recalled for its excellent peaches. (Oli-ver: 33, 36)

The two parties of Scandinavian men had been quickly put to work. The men from the *Celaeno* appear to have made their public works contribution on the Foxton-Palmerston Tramway, near the Karere Scandinavian Block. The men from the *England* appear to have worked in the Gorge. Some split timber for sleepers. By July the Norwegians at least had proven themselves. "We like the Norwegians very much," the Palmerston correspondent for the 'Wellington Independent' wrote. "They are both courteous and industrious, and very skilled in the felling of bush and roadmaking. (They) will make most useful settlers." (WI 8/7/1871)



Sawing timber for sleepers for Ernest and George Wagstaff's contract, in the State Forest, Pohangina Valley about 1904. Most men are identified. This scene would have been familiar to the Scandinavian work parties. (Palmerston North Public Library)

Some worked under the overseer, Amos Burr, whom they soon disliked. He favoured English-speakers such as Frederick Andersen, the interpreter from the *Celaeno*, and also future prominent businessman and Mayor, Frits Jenssen, who had been employed by the Public Works Department during 1871. Stewart thought it "useful" to have a Scandinavian-speaker [Jenssen] who was not part of the immigrant group.

On 22 October, with the help of C.J. Toxward, an angry Johan Sissener complained about Burr. Sissener and some Norwegians had been splitting sleepers throughout the winter and the group had noticed that Burr had been very unwilling to pass their work. *"To Frederick Andersen, the Norwegian interpreter on the other hand, is he extremely obliging, to pass sleepers of any size for payment. Sissener explained that they had tricked Burr to prove their point. Burr had condemned 45 of Sissener's sleepers, so Sissener sold them to Gulbrand Hansen, who on-sold them to Andersen. The following day Burr passed all the sleepers, including those he had previously condemned. Toxward endorsed Sissener's letter with 'I trust the Government will look into this matter, as the continued complaints against this Mr Burr, is no credit to any Government official, but calculated to bring disunion among the emigrants. I think an overseer's conduct should be free from nasty feelings and ought to be a man of good character. [signed] C. Julius Toxward.'*" (NA: IM 6/7/1)

Stewart later met with Sissener, Andersen and Burr. Andersen claimed he had redressed the sleepers before adding them to his stack. He was criticised for not telling Burr of their origin. Andersen had offered Sissener the profit on the sleepers, but was refused. When he made the same offer in front of Stewart, it was accepted. Stewart felt that Burr had not intentionally shown preference, and that the complainants had been "incited by parties outside to forward complaints to Wellington." He asked that aggrieved persons come directly to him in future. (NA: IM 6/7/1)



Sledging the squared sleepers for Ernest and George Wagstaff's contract, from the bush to Opaue Road, Pohangina Valley about 1904. From left: Sam Lane, George Wagstaff, Ernest Wagstaff. ? (Palmerston North Public Library)

Bernt Johansen wrote on 15 October 1871 that Burr had said there was no more timber for his party to cut, yet a few days later Burr had given a contract to Frits Jenssen. Also, some bush with good trees which the party had been working had been given to Frederick Andersen. Evidently Andersen, Jenssen and a group of the Scandinavians had been working together. The last straw was when Burr allowed English workmen to build the road outside the homes of the Karere Scandinavians, while six Norwegians and four others who formerly cut sleepers, were left unemployed. "How will we be able to pay for our land at this state of things. There is 4 men who has worked on the road the whole winter and have had only £7 to £8 during that

time." Stewart endorsed the letter with the remark that he always endeavoured to give the immigrants first claim on the work. However, he added that, "work could not always be given to them on the spur of the moment when applied for." (NA: IM 6/7/1)

In addition to starvation, under-employment, in-fighting, floods, negligence and isolation, the largely inexperienced would-be settlers faced other problems. J.T. Stewart complained on August 3rd that most had done little toward cultivating their land. (NA: IM 6/7/1) By early September 1871, two whares had burnt down, complete with the owners' worldly goods. Then followed the severing of Fritz Braunsted's (q.v.) leg in a tree-felling accident. Small wonder that the group were looking for greener, or at least more hospitable, pastures. The Boesens and Jacobsens [Mrs Jacobsen was pregnant] had headed for Wanganui in about May. By August, five of the unmarried men - Bertelsen, Bonde, Lassen, O.Olsen and Poulsen - had gone over the hill track [probably at the Gorge], heading for Napier. Magnus Zebbesen left during 1872.

It was clear that the single men were "more attracted by the wages of settlers than by land" - or at least the land they were offered. This influenced the recruiting drive away from single men back in Scandinavia, not that single men had ever been popular. (AJHR 1872, D-1: 4) Married couples found it far harder to move, although the Jorgensens headed, temporarily, for Southern Hawkes Bay in the summer of 1871-2 and the Asserlinds left permanently in 1872. Neither couple had children then. One couple [ex-England] had their circumstances described in the 'Wellington Independent' of 28 December 1871. They had earned only £18 since March, despite taking all work offered. *"The storekeepers of course are the sufferers, as it is impossible that a married man could have lived on so small a sum, especially when it is considered that for some months after they were located here they had nothing but what they stood in, unless they purchased new outfits from the stores, which in every instance, I believe, was done."*

Many, especially those with young children, had to make the best of their situation. Grumbling was frequent. As well as the men's tools, they had been told to leave the women's spinning wheels behind in Scandinavia. While the tools were replaced on arrival, the spinning wheels were not. Given their material losses and their financial state, small wonder the women wished to utilise their own creative skills. *"Now, when (they) want to spin," the Palmerston correspondent wrote, "not a wheel can be had, unless at a great expense. I have been informed by the best authority, viz, that of a countryman of theirs, a cabinetmaker in Foxton [Andrew Jonson], that he could make their spinning wheels, and they have asked him to,....but he could not do so for under £3 each, whereas they can be purchased for 10/- each in their own country."* About fifty (?) immigrants wanted spinning wheels and they were hoping that the Government would supply them at a fair price, either by sending to Europe for some or by paying the price difference for a New Zealand-made product. They also required some special "arrangement" for their weaving would could not be obtained in New Zealand. The outcome of these requests is unknown. (WI 18/11/1871)

Not all was doom and gloom though. On October 9th, the Palmerston correspondent wrote of the blossoms on fruit trees, the improved weather, the bustle and activity amongst the settlers, and the new roads, buildings and clearings. "The whirring of the circular saw at the timber mill is a musical sound of progress, and the demand for timber is increasing." The mosquitoes were also sending out their advance guard. The main problem seemed to be the need for a constable to protect the "peaceable inhabitants" from the town's drunks and criminals. (WI 16/10/1871) Lacking alternative entertainment for idle hands, Palmerston had become noted for its drunks, larrikins and after-hours liquor trade. The end of 1871 saw the town mark out the Christmas season in typical form, in

stark contrast to the neighbouring Foxton. A resident constable was by then stationed in Palmerston and he was gradually taming the wild frontier town. (WI 21/12/1871, 28/12/1871, 9/1/1872) Palmerston's first religious service occurred on 18 February 1872, with the Rev. Honore conducting the first Scandinavian language service the following week. A school was also being planned.

Halcombe met with the Scandinavians on February 24th to finalise arrangements for them to occupy and pay for their land. They were permitted extra time to pay their 'establishment costs'. (WI 7/3/1872) By this time most were beginning to establish their farms, in addition to their public works commitments. "Substantial dwellings" had appeared on cleared portions of land. Grass had been sown and the ground was being prepared for wheat. Still the threat of further flooding hung over them. (WI 21/3/1872)

Considerable excitement in the town accompanied the return of the *England* on 9 March 1872, with the third batch of Scandinavians. The Palmerston Scandinavians were keen to hear if friends and relatives were aboard, especially when they heard of the smallpox epidemic which had ravaged the passengers and crew. Some friends and relatives had not survived. (WI 21/3/1872)

Just as the immigrants had been evaluating New Zealand, even though there was little they could do but suffer their lot, so too was the New Zealand Government evaluating them on national grounds. On 19 February 1872, J.D. Ormond, the Minister of Public Works, wrote to the Agent-General in London, advising that only the *Celaeno* [Norwegian] immigrants "were, as a whole, fitted for employment on public works, and the ordinary labour required by country settlers." (AJHR, 1872, D-1: 35)

Before long, and especially after their experiences with the third batch of Scandinavians, the New Zealand authorities turned against Danish immigration. Halcombe had found marked differences between both the two classes of people [Norwegian and apparently Swedish, versus the Danes] and also the two Colonial Agents in Christiania and Copenhagen.

With the upheavals at the Scandinavian Camp in the Wairarapa fresh in his mind, Halcombe described the Danes as "shiftless, thriftless, unable to work with an axe and not very eager to learn". The Danes were earning less than the Norwegians and had become very discontented. In contrast, the normally cheerful and contented Norwegians, he considered, were able to house themselves comfortably with the materials at hand and to surround themselves with simple comforts. They were also able to make good wages as soon as they began working. Mixed emigration of the two groups was also considered a mistake, due to "the existing of a very bitter national feeling of animosity" between the two groups. As a result, on 6 July, Ormond again wrote to the Agent-General, requesting that he bring Danish immigration to a close as soon as possible. (AJHR 1872, D-1: 50-51) Fortunately this instruction was not carried out in the long term.

On 18 July 1872, Halcombe wrote that the Palmerston settlement had produced a "fair promise of success, notwithstanding that these people had exceptional difficulties to contend with... Yet now these people (were) well satisfied and hopeful of their future. The married people, with only four or five exceptions, have built themselves good and neatly finished weather-board houses, many with brick chimneys. Most of them have cleared small patches of ground, and they are now beginning to fall (sic) the bush extensively. Thirty-five out of fifty have already paid the first installment of the purchase money of their land, at least ten more will do so next pay day, and 40% of the advances made by the Government have already been paid. Considering the difficulties, more has, in my opinion, been done by these people than could have been expected, and a very valuable nucleus of a future population has been fixed upon the soil."

Halcombe added that future immigration should be of married men, as even with the same wages and fewer

demands on their income, the single men were not nearly as successful as colonists. Family ties were vital to bind immigrants to any particular locality. (AJHR, 1872, D-16: 6)

By September the school was almost finished, despite the two Scandinavian settlements being a very long walk away. The first steam locomotive, the 'Palmerston', built for the wooden tramway, was soon to arrive and an export trade in timber was anticipated. The town's second saw-mill was about to be built "by the Scandinavian settlers. This is a commencement on a large scale of the enterprising spirit of these people. I do not doubt that soon we shall have them embarking in some other local industry." (WI 15/8/1872) This new venture, Richter, Nannestad & Co., (q.v.) would be the major employer in the town after the public works ceased in 1876.

By April 1873 Palmerston, now called 'Palmerston North', was equipped with well-stocked stores, public houses, and butchers' and bakers' shops. It had its school, its lock-up and hopes that there would soon be a church. The Feilding Immigration Barracks was also under construction. The town was becoming "decently humdrum". The only problem was the wooden tramway, which was behind schedule and could not carry the little locomotive designed for it. (WI 4/4/1873) The tramway was finally completed on 26 July 1873, but could only be used by horse-drawn trams until the wooden lines were replaced by iron rails - a job completed in 1876.

"Few of (the Scandinavians and other settlers) regret(ed) coming to Manawatu." (WI 15/4/1873), although "small deserted clearings here and there show that many of the 'Norsemen' have left for other parts. The lazy and useless are now pretty well weeded out, those who are left being made of the true stuff. It is easy to see by the work they have done that not many of them have been accustomed to it, and what they have accomplished is all the more creditable to them on that account. Their wives are true help-mates in the fullest sense of the word. It is common to see them using spade and hoe in their little bits of garden, while little children play around the door step. Now that most of them have a little clear land, they are beginning to get cows and other farm stock. A very large cutting on the projected line of railway is pointed out as having been cut by a Scandinavian woman single-handed while the husband sat by and nursed the child. As might be expected with such a breadwinner, they are far behind their neighbours in comfort and progress with their farm." (WI 4/4/1873)

Clearly no consideration was given to what could have been a genuine injury suffered by the husband during earlier heavy manual labour. Some people covered here,



Bill Anderson, grandson of Peter Johan and Maja C. Anderson (q.v.), and his bullock team carting firewood across the Hautapu River at Turangarewa, for use by the Pohe family. Photographed in the early 1900s. (Valmai Anderson Album, P.N. City Archives)

including women, are known to have suffered from conditions such as hernias and rheumatism. With their fair skin and their outdoor employment, they would also have been especially vulnerable to sunburn - and skin cancer.

By July 1873, twenty four of the twenty seven Palmerston families had settled on their land, although 'settled' may have meant 'were paying for' as some are known to have been living elsewhere. One of the remaining three families had moved to Napier to join friends, while the other two had "taken service in the neighbourhood." Of the thirty single men, twenty three had settled down like the married men, two were shepherding on the Ruataniwha Plains, one was a tailor on high wages, and another a shopman at Napier. The remaining three were working on the Hutt Railway works. As there were thirty one single men, possibly the remaining one was the injured Braunsted. Two single men from the Wairarapa Scandinavian settlement had also moved to Palmerston to be with friends. (AJHR 1873, D-13: 2)

The 1874 [non-Maori] Census indicates that the "Scandinavian Camp near Palmerston" had a population of 57 males and 51 females, totalling 108 men, women and children. It is unclear whether this "camp" was the one which had been established near Scandia/Albert Street in 1871, or if the term referred to the Stoney Creek Scandinavian Block. The town of Palmerston itself had 131 males and 62 females, a total of 193. Palmerston County [which in fact included the Karere and Stoney Creek Scandinavian Blocks] had 80 males and 38 females, a total of 118. Possibly about a third of the 419 souls were of Scandinavian descent. The Manawatu Gorge then had 17 males and 2 females, while the Scandinavian settlement in Wairarapa had 148 males and 85 females. Norsewood, Dannevirke and that general area of the Seventy-Mile Bush had 391 males, and 162 females. Census of NZ, 1874: 18)

R.G. Oliver estimates in his thesis that Scandinavians made up 7.4% of the non-Maori population of the combined Manawatu and Kairanga counties in 1874 [including Palmerston, Foxton and Sanson townships]. They were the third largest grouping after New Zealand-born [44.1%] and English-born [30.7%]. The Scots were fourth with 6.8%. (Oliver: 11, 101, 110)

No other shiploads of Scandinavians were brought specifically to the Manawatu, although groups of Scandinavian and German shipmates were delivered to the district over the following five years under the Vogel Scheme. These included groups from the *Humboldt* [1875], *Shakespear* [1876], *Terpsichore* [1876] and *Fritz Reuter* [1876], the *Fritz Reuter* group settling at Rongotea. Scandinavians who had been placed in other areas often found their way to Palmerston North as it, in turn, became the 'greener pasture' which Napier and Wanganui had been to the 1871 immigrants.

WOMEN AND CHILDREN

Life for the women of early Palmerston, Scandinavian or otherwise, must have been hard and generally unpleasant. Unfortunately no interviews with the 1871 women were traced, thus oral history and published snippets remain the best sources available.

In addition to the demands of motherhood, the women's workload included helping establish and maintain farms and food production while their husbands worked for wages elsewhere; attempting to supplement the family income, or at least reduce the drains on it; as well as confronting the difficulty of achieving any kind of warmth, cleanliness and hygiene in their crude, draughty little 'houses' - which were also likely to have dirt floors. Few had relatives to turn to and those in need usually had to fall back on the community for help.

Women might find themselves forced to leave a young child alone, while they did some necessary chore. This could prove dangerous in such difficult conditions. Anne Andersen, wife of Carl Andreas Andersen (q.v.) had to live with the terrible loss of her young daughter, Karen, in 1877. The three-year-old had been tied by a length of rope to a tree to prevent her becoming lost in the bush, while Anne was milking the cows. The tree, and then the child, caught fire. Another local woman, "Mrs O'Meara," found herself and two young sons lost in the bush overnight while searching for their cow. Three younger children, including a baby, were found shut in their house the following afternoon. Mrs Snelson and a Mrs Henderson cared for the children while others searched the bush - with eventual success. Probably this was Mrs James O'Mara, of the Stoney Creek Roadmens' Block [Sec. 475, Lot 77]. (WI 3/5/1872)



In about 1883, Charles Mariboe photographed this sad-looking father and his children, who were friends of the C.A. Anderson family (q.v.). Note the children's too-tight clothing and the large adult-type jewellery the girls are wearing. As the oldest girl has no wedding ring, she must not be a new wife. Although unidentified, they are possibly Edward Andersen Laurvig and family from Norsewood. [Compare with 1922 photo of E.A. Laurvig in A.L. Andersen's 'Norsewood: The Centennial Story', page 123]

Edward Laurvig was from Larviken, below Auli, Solor Odal, Norway, near where the Andersens and other Celaeno passengers originated. Edward, his wife Karoline 'Lena' [nee Sorensen], and three children had arrived on the *Hovding* in 1872. Lena (32) died on 2 July 1879 after giving birth to her seventh child, Ludwig Edward. If this is the Laurvig family then they are from left: Maria [1876], Didrik Magnus [c1870], Ellen [1878], Edward A. Laurvig [c1849], Anna [c1868-1908], Ludwig Edward [1879] Marie (sic) [c1871] and Caja [1874-1908]. The family lived in Palmerston North in 1883, when E.A. Laurvig & Co. took over A.H. Ihle's Hokowhitu Sawmill. As Anna died unmarried, she possibly took care of her younger siblings like many other eldest daughters whose mothers died prematurely. Edward died at Norsewood on 2 January 1938, aged 90 years. [MT 9/7/1879, 2/1/1883; Troseid: 171; Norsewood Cemetery Records.] (Photo: C.A. Anderson Album, P.N. City Archives)



An unknown Manawatu settler's first home, consisting of a tent with a lean-to kitchen of sacking and timber slabs - taken around 1890. Many early Scandinavian families lived in similar conditions. (Palmerston North Public Library)

Many stories of the women-settlers mention their being mid-wives or nursing the sick of other families in times of need. Orphan children, especially where mothers died young, were taken in by other families, although not all retained good memories of the experience. One little girl, described as "one of the McEwens", had been adopted by wheelwright, Robert Blom, and his Norwegian-born wife of several years, Anne Rana, of what is now Pioneer Highway. The circumstances leading to her adoption are unknown and her new life was not problem-free either. Anne Blom (36), whose health had not been good for some time, died suddenly from heart disease on 21 May 1886. Previously the widow of Carl Eversen, to whom she had a 16-year-old daughter, Anne [nee Knutsen] had been in New Zealand for 9 years. It is not known what became of the bereft family. (ES 22/5/1886, 25/5/1886; A.R. Blom's death cert. Note: Descendant of the Karere McEwens, Jock McEwen of Wellington, cannot place this little girl as a relative.)

The Scandinavian communities at Stoney Creek [Whakarongo] and Karere [the part now called Awapuni] had a considerable distance to travel to shop, to attend doctors or to attend school. Often road conditions were very bad and for women the primary means of transport in the early days was by foot. Women from the Karere settlement cleaned themselves at a spring, probably near West Street, before entering the township. (MT 18/8/1934) Elisabet Johansen, wife of Bernt (q.v.) Johansen, described making such journeys ankle-deep in mud in winter. She and the children had to wash themselves before entering any shops. As well as carrying any child too young to walk, on the return journey Elisabet also had to carry the supplies. (ATL: 'NZ Biographies' 1971, Vol III: 121)

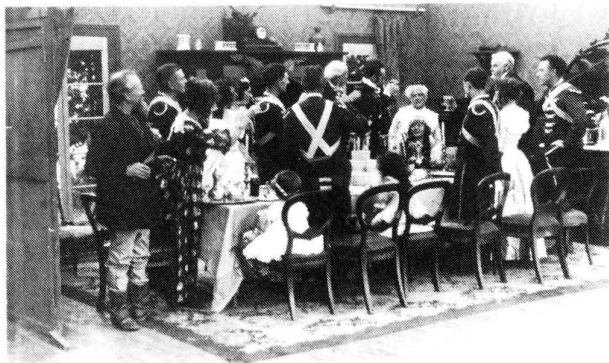


An elderly woman poses with Ole Persson Dahlstrom [2nd from right ?] and others, including a Mr Larsen later of Waldegrave Street. The photo was taken in the Halcombe area in the late 1880s. Dahlstrom [Skandia I: 23] had purchased land there but his wife refused to move to it. Note the tent make by Chas Dahl (q.v.). (Vera L McLennan-Boman)

Medical care was haphazard and not always affordable. Bringing children in from the bush for their inoculations was another problem, especially when some doctors were a little thoughtless. One woman, who lived eight or ten miles from town, had to make at least three journeys along the muddy road, carrying her baby to get its inoculation. The first time there was no vaccine; the second time, after waiting two hours, she was told to come back next week. (MT 21/4/1880) Scandinavian women faced a second negative influence where inoculations were concerned. Pastor Gaustad, a strong believer in homeopathic remedies, waged an ongoing war against the inoculation of children. (MT 6/8/1884, 9/8/1884)

The Scandinavian farms continued to be flood-prone [some still are] and, in addition to the dangers, this tried the patience of the womenfolk. Anne Andersen, wife of C.A. Andersen (q.v.), is recalled cooking her family's meals on top of tree-stumps when everything else was under water.

Mosquitoes were the other water-related curse which plagued the district. Their constant buzzing at night was as irritating to would-be sleepers as the prospect of being bitten. It was said that the insects could swarm in numbers sufficient to extinguish a candle, and that dogs and piglets had been killed by them. Babies must also have been at risk. Smoke was used to ward the insects off, as was a device used by the family of William Aldridge called a slush-light - an jam tin filled with fat, and a cloth wick. In addition to the light, the strong unpleasant smell was off-putting for the mosquitoes, not to mention the people. (ES 4/3/1911; MT 18/8/1934; Aldridge family records - B. Brocklebank)



An open-air re-enactment of a Norwegian wedding in Palmerston North, prepared as a publicity photo for the 1926 film 'The Birth of New Zealand'. (Palmerston North Public Library)

Due to access problems, schooling was out of the question for many children for some years, although the Palmerston School, later the 'Central School', opened in 1872 on a section bounded by Main Street, Church Street and Princess Street. It was 1877 before Karere School [now Longburn School] and Stoney Creek School [now Whakarongo School] opened, with Taonui School [now Newbury School] opening in 1878. Terrace End School opened in 1884, as did a Catholic School. When Stoney Creek School opened, only three children "knew their letters". Given that few children had English as a first language, the teacher found singing was a successful exercise. Sending them out to play frequently also helped as the children learned English in the playground. (McLennan, 1977: 63-4)

Few of the women covered here died young, despite their obvious vulnerability. Those women from the 1871 group known to have died young were Severina Blixt, from a strangulated hernia in 1878; Martha Boesen, from a heart attack in 1883 and Marie Christensen, in childbirth in 1885. A number of their young children were not so lucky; neither were many of the local Maori as they adjusted to closer contact with the settler population during the 1870s. (MT 3/7/1880, Oliver 50-51)

SOME SCANDINAVIAN HISTORY FROM THE 'MANAWATU TIMES' 1877-1884

The 'Manawatu Times,' under its various titles, was published from 23 October 1875 until its abrupt overnight closure on 20 April 1963. The 87-year-old paper had been purchased by the then owners of the Wellington-based 'Dominion', who immediately closed the 'Times' and offered that newspaper in its place. The closure, and the tactics, caused considerable anger and resentment in the district. (ES 20/4/1963, 23/4/1963)

Over the years, the 'Manawatu Times' became the 'Manawatu Evening Times', the 'Manawatu Daily Times' [when it began publishing in the morning] and finally 'The Times'. Microfilms of it exist for the years 1877-1881, 1883-1884, and 1901-1920. Later editions await microfilming. Unfortunately, someone with little foresight destroyed editions covering about sixteen valuable years. As it happened, the 'Manawatu [Evening] Standards' for approximately the same years had already been destroyed in a fire. This senseless act, in the interest of saving space, was a tragedy for the city. 'Standard' microfilms exist from 1883-mid-1886, and from mid-1900 to the present. The post-1900 'Standards' are partially indexed.

Fortunately, Foxton's 'Manawatu Herald' has survived from 1878, apart from some years in the 1880s which were also carelessly thrown away. The 'Feilding Star' survives from 1882. Both of these are indexed for their own local content, but not necessarily for Palmerston North activities.

The unindexed 'Times' contains a wealth of information about all aspects of the region's history. It was also very interested in Scandinavian matters. Unfortunately, only by reading it thoroughly, as occurred in researching this book, can its true value be realised. The early 'Standard', which seemed to give external news priority over the local news the 'Times' mainly focussed on, also printed less on 'non-British' settlers and Maori than the 'Times' did.

THE SCANDINAVIAN CONNECTION - The 'Times' had a special early link to the Scandinavian community. The Danish-language paper, 'Skandia', first published on 18 November 1875, was printed on the 'Times' press. Both papers were to have begun at the same time, but the need for special letters to print the Danish alphabet delayed 'Skandia's' publication. (Petersen 1973: 150) Although only the first edition [used on the cover of this book] has survived, there is new evidence, found in an early Norwegian publication, which indicates that in fact it survived six months. (Saxe: 187)

Early Palmerston North contained a variety of European nationalities and ethnic groups. There was also the small male Chinese community and, of course, the local Maori communities. These combined to give the district, and the paper, its own character. The 'Times' often described people by their presumed nationality or used the jargon of the day, including 'foreigner' [anyone who was not British], 'celestial' or 'Native'. Sometimes the paper was patronising or racist, especially as the years passed.

Without the 'Times', many of the families covered here would have remained anonymous, especially where no descendants were found, the Gundersens and Jorgensens being good examples. The Boesen descendants were traced, but premature deaths meant they knew little about their forebears. A number of other families have also regained valuable history.

SCANDINAVIAN LANGUAGE USAGE - Occasionally the 'Times' published items in the Scandinavian language. Several such items invited readers to religious gatherings. Another advertised the local library. Easily the largest single usage was during the bitter debate prior to the 1879 General Election. This is covered below, under 'Politics'.

The Danish letters from 'Skandia' reappeared on this occasion. (MT 31/12/1879, 3/1/1880, 19/5/1880, 11/8/1880)

It was very difficult for adult immigrants to learn written English. Men frequently picked up parts of the spoken language in the course of their employment, but many women never learned to speak it, let alone write it. However, those Scandinavians who in 1877 wished to learn English found Mr Merrit's evening classes gave them this opportunity. He also taught drawing. (MT 3/1/1877)

The Courthouse was another place where the variety of languages caused a problem. Frits Jenssen and fellow-Norwegian, Hjalmar Graff, were frequently pressed into service to translate for Scandinavians. Graff was Bailiff and Scandinavian Interpreter for the Palmerston North District Court. (MT 15/11/1879) Jenssen also assisted with German-speakers. In one case involving Germans, considerable time was wasted before it was realised that the people concerned could now speak English reasonably well. (MT 23/4/1881)

The Palmerston North Library catered to both English and non-English readers. The Monrad family donated books, while Frits Jenssen was requested to order the main German, Norwegian and Danish newspapers on behalf of the Library Committee. Local people were asked to donate newspapers received from their various homelands. (MT 23/7/1879, 2/8/1879)



The home of Viggo Monrad and family overlooks the Karere Lagoon and three Monrad children posing in a Maori canoe, around 1882-3. Possibly this is the large old Maori canoe which Viggo Monrad and Hans Callesen found in the Manawatu River. They advertised in the 'Times' on 18 September 1880, seeking the owners - apparently without success. (Palmerston North Public Library)

NEWS FROM HOME - The 'Times' sometimes printed snippets from Europe which were thought to be of interest to expatriots. For example: a man in Christiania, Norway, awoke inside a coffin - luckily prior to burial! Both he and the ten-year-old girl who found him were extremely shocked by their discoveries! Another described how desperate Russian country mothers were placing unwanted infants in beds alongside people with diphtheria, as a form of infanticide. The Gherke family [now Gerke] of the district, who were from Saxony, must have been curious about a Professor Gherke who was mentioned by the 'Times'. The Professor had decided 'Aboriginal Americans'

and people from the North of Europe were descended from polar bears! (MT 19/3/1881, 12/9/1883, 8/12/1883)

More significant though, where locals concerned, was the announcement that the Prussian Government had decided to expel Danish residents from Prussian territory. The Danes were refusing to serve in the Prussian Army which was stationed in Schleswig. This must have struck fear into the hearts of emigrants from that region who still had relatives there. (MT 15/3/1883)

NEWS FROM OTHER SCANDINAVIAN SETTLEMENTS

The 'Times' also published many items of interest throughout the Manawatu, Southern Hawkes Bay and Wairarapa. One involved a group of Scandinavian road-makers at Woodville. The Overseer refused to pass their road-metalling contract so the annoyed workmen threatened to lynch him. In the end their better judgement prevailed - and they beat him up instead! (MT 22/10/1879)

Probably the major story though, which is covered elsewhere, was the apparent decision of Norsewood's Scandinavian community to emigrate as a group to the United States. (MT 26/3/1881, 2/4/1881)

WELFARE - Immigrant families who lost their means of livelihood were in dire straits, so far from the support of extended family. Tree-felling accidents frequently appeared in the 'Times', with most describing the victim's inexperience at the task. Luckily, families in difficulties could usually expect to receive support from their community. The Vette family (q.v.), who had lost their 'breadwinner' in a tree-felling accident, were a good example of this.

The Bohemian-born Joseph Krivan worked for Richter, Nannestad & Co. He was severely injured on 23 April 1877 and, as he had recently arrived in New Zealand, it was thought that the Government would help maintain his family while he recovered. That did not happen and by July they were in a bad way. A workmate, Charles Litchwark, wrote to Doctor Akers, who was attending Krivan, and this letter was then published in the 'Times.' Litchwark asked if Akers could organise a subscription list for the Krivans. As Akers had been supplying them with necessities, Litchwark thought he would know more about Krivan than anyone else in town. Akers was a leading citizen, and his signature would carry weight. "Kriffan's



Norsewood suffered an apparent loss of some of its Scandinavian population in 1881 and a major fire in 1888, yet there were still enough people remaining for this parade at the turn of the century. This event is said to have been in celebration of the 1901 coronation of the English King Edward VII and his Danish-born Queen, Alexandra. The photo shows the parade, with the main street decorated with an archway, flags [including a Danish flag] and large quantities of vegetation. Compare with the very similar photo in A.L. Andersen's 'Norsewood: the Centennial Story' [p. 116] which describes that event as in celebration of the Sixtieth Anniversary [1897] of Queen Victoria's reign. (G.E.A. Nikolianson Collection)

(sic) family is hungry and wretched and in much need of help. I hope you will excuse me for troubling you so much, but it is a very hard case, and if each of the residents who are able would contribute a mite, they would not feel it, and it would be a substantial help to the poor man and his family. Kriffen (sic) has five children, and they are all small and look to him for food." (MT 11/7/1877)

Others in need might be assisted back to their homelands where relatives could help them. Marianne Lund [address unknown], described in the 'Post' as an "aged and infirm Danish woman," was helped in this way. £24/15/- had been raised on her behalf and the Agent-General was arranging her trip home to friends in Denmark. (MT 5/5/1877)

LUNACY - 'Lunacy' seemingly dogged the district. Anyone could be convicted of lunacy and packed off to Mount View Asylum in Wellington, if two doctors were prepared to



A group of Manawatu's old [Scandinavian ?] identities, photographed in the 1920s. Those whose names are known are, from left: (back row) P. Hasen [Hansen ?], ?, A. Clausen, F. Clausen, C.N. Clausen; (middle row) M. Voss, ?, ?, Pedersen [from Sanson]; (front row) Hans Callesen, Pastor Mads Christensen. (Palmerston North Public Library)

declare him or her insane. Scandinavians featured in this predicament with a certain frequency. Disease, anxiety, water or food tainted by lead and various other 'external' influences may have seemingly affected the minds of these unfortunates. Some, including Hans Martin Andersen (q.v.), were treated with great sympathy by the 'Times' as their world crashed around them.

Lars Hansen, a supposedly insane Danish settler from Stoney Creek, made frequent appearances in the 'Times'. He and Hans Ollison [Olsson ?] were accused, temporarily, of assaulting Wilhelm Christensen in April 1879. In August 1879, friends requested that Hansen be removed to town for "safekeeping", and he was taken to the town lock-up. He was convinced there was a conspiracy to rob him of money he was expecting from Denmark and had also decided that his particular Bible was the passport to Heaven for whoever possessed it. He had been reduced to making threats to defend his property and his friends were concerned about how far he might go. In 1880 he and his sanity again made the news, while in 1881 the "former lunatic" was arrested in the town as a vagrant. In May 1883 Hansen, by now a "notorious vagrant", was again brought up on a vagrancy charge. He was sentenced to three months hard labour in the Wanganui Gaol. (MT 12/4/1879, 13/8/1879, 30/10/1880, 25/5/1881, 21/5/1883)

The distressed Jens Peter Mikklesen, a "sober man" who worked at the Trondheim Sawmill, was jailed for a few weeks for attempting suicide under a train in October 1878. Two weeks after returning from gaol his mind apparently snapped. This time he was convicted of lunacy and sent to Mount View. (MT 30/10/1878, 4/12/1878)

Some were less fortunate. A Dane, S.T. Beck of Makaretu, had become very depressed at being unable to find work. He was declared temporarily insane after being found hanging from a beam in his house. Another Scandinavian man hanged himself in bush at Maungapakeha, 10 miles from Masterton - much to the surprise of the poor traveller who eventually found him. (MT 3/3/1877, 25/9/1878)

RELATIONSHIPS! - The 'Times' recorded its share of domestic disputes and arguments between neighbours. In the latter category was a court case involving the Jepsen family (q.v.) and their neighbours. Another kept the community riveted for weeks in late 1879. This 'eternal triangle' involved a Danish woman, Christine Christensen, and her two suitors, the abovementioned Dane, Wilhelm Christensen, and an Englishman named Snow. She had had a close relationship with Snow, who the 'Times' chose to call "Mr Frost", and was also pregnant. She gave the reluctant Snow an ultimatum, either marry her on Monday, October 13th or she would marry her "Danish friend". Snow had priority. She arranged the wedding and had the marriage licence prepared, but omitted to enter the prospective groom's name. On the chosen day she married Wilhelm as Snow had not appeared.

The newly-weds, both aged about 22, then retired to Wilhelm's Stoney Creek farm, Section 22 on Napier Road. Unfortunately, Christine could neither forget Snow nor fully accept Wilhelm as a substitute. Her new husband could not forget Snow either. On October 29th she caught the train to Mr Hammond's at Bulls and although Snow was left behind, he was looking very "self-satisfied." Wilhelm brought her back within 24 hours, but she soon regained her freedom. Wilhelm then called in the Law to retrieve her, but to no avail.

On November 17th matters came to a head when Wilhelm was charged with assault. He had allegedly run Christine down with his horse, in the middle of the road, in the Square. The resulting court case, on November 20th, set down the sad state of their short marriage. Wilhelm had witnesses who agreed that his horse could be vicious and uncontrollable. The Judge thus ruled that no assault had taken place and the mishap was declared an accident. Wilhelm soon sought a divorce - from a wife who claimed to

be scared of him. Both had made accusations of cruelty against the other. On November 22nd, Wilhelm published a notice that he would not be responsible for her debts.

It is not known what became of Snow, but Wilhelm, still of Stoney Creek, was declared bankrupt in 1881. Ironically, Wilhelm and Christine made up their bitter quarrel and had at least two children together - Anna Marie [1882] and Christina [1883]. (MT 15/10/1879, 1/11/1879, 22/11/1879, 26/11/1879, 27/7/1881)

INCIDENTS AND ACCIDENTS - Mishaps were frequently reported in the 'Times'. They helped to draw more readers. One described an unnamed Scandinavian who tried to gallop his horse along Main Street West and turn, at speed, into the Square. The angle the horse had to lean on to attempt the turn was so great that both fell, with the foolish rider finishing up underneath. Both apparently survived. Jens Jensen (q.v. ?) was once charged with "furious riding" and was awarded a 10/- fine and 14/- costs for his trouble. Sven Olsen (23) did not have a chance to learn that speed kills, even on horseback. It killed him first! [see M. Boesen]. (MT 19/9/1877, 6/10/1877, 31/12/1879, 20/11/1884)

The Manawatu River was unsympathetic to those who misjudged it, including the cousins, Paul Christensen Nissen (19) and Jens Lund (18) - both from Apenrada, Schleswig. On 24 July 1877 [12 months after Lund arrived] they crossed the river below Hokowhitu, by holding on to a log. Once on the Aokautere side they visited Knud Jensen [see Skandia I: 29] and, after remaining at his tent for a short time, at about 4:00pm the 'sober' young men started for home. Their bodies were found two months later. (MT 6/10/1877)

The dense bush was yet another hazard, as Anders Jonson of Stoney Creek learned first hand. He became lost while walking home from the 'Hit or Miss (goldmining) Company's' workings, somewhere in Fitzherbert [now Aokautere and Linton]. Three weeks later, after being given up for dead, he was found "near Mr Ormond's station" [probably Oringi-Waiaruhe Station] and taken to Woodville. This heavily-built man had been reduced to a "skeleton", having eaten only wild plants during that time. (MT 11,18,25&28/5/1881)

ASSIMILATION - The Scandinavian community, as a rule, was anxious to blend in with the dominant society of the time, although their sense of identity was important to them. Just before the ill-considered Government invasion of the pacifist Maori village of Parihaka [5/11/1881], a number of Palmerston North's Scandinavian men offered to help the Government forces. They wished to form a 'Scandinavian Corps', guaranteeing the requisite numbers to do so. The 'Times' enthusiastically recorded that many potential recruits were ex-soldiers, including many officers from the Franco-Prussian War. (MT 2/11/1881)

ENTERTAINMENT - The Scandinavian community received a few visits from travelling entertainers of Scandinavian origin or from those who could entertain in that language. Herr Norberg sang at the Forester's hall in 1883, while Norwegian-born Madame Moller and her Danish-born daughter held a successful Operatic and Ballad Concert in early 1884. Madame Moller was later to become a resident of Palmerston North, as was her daughter, Anna, who married Jacob Nannestad. Svenne V. Langkjer (q.v.) was another of prominence. In addition, they also put on concerts amongst themselves, especially the Lutheran and Scandinavian Wesleyan groups. Many other English-language travelling shows also passed through the town. (MT 17/3/1883, 10/10/1883, 14,15&16/1/1884)

POLITICS - Two Scandinavians were elected to Palmerston North Borough Council office during the period the 'Times' covers. These were Frits Jenssen [1877-1882] and Ludolph G. West [1883-1886]. Both also served single terms as Mayor: Jenssen in 1882-3 and West in 1886-7.



Anthon Fredrik 'Frits' Jenssen [1841-1913], Norwegian-born co-owner of the sawmilling and flourmilling company, Richter, Nannestad & Co., in its day the largest employer in Palmerston North. One of Jenssen's earliest contacts with the Scandinavian immigrants was in October 1871 when, much to their disgust, he was awarded a bush-felling contract that they had wanted. Jenssen's very varied public role ranged from serving as Mayor of Palmerston North [1882-1883] to interpreting in courtcases. (Palmerston North Public Library)

Yet, where Scandinavian involvement in politics was concerned, the only real highlight was the contest for the Manawatu Seat in the 1879 General Election. There was not yet a Palmerston North Seat.



Arthur William Follett Halcombe [1834-1900], a cousin of Sir William Fox's wife, arrived in New Zealand about 1855. As well as assisting the Scandinavian immigrants in the early 1870s, between 1872 and 1881 Halcombe was also attorney and agent for the Emigrant & Colonist's Aid Corporation which settled the Manchester Block and established Feilding. These associations with Fox, the Manchester Block and Feilding sometimes saw Halcombe pitted against the Palmerston North district and its interests. From 1886 Halcombe lived in Taranaki where he was again involved in public affairs. (Swainson: 184-5. Photo: Palmerston North Public Library)

The Scandinavian community, and the community in general, was divided between George Snelson and Arthur Follett Halcombe. The sitting member and ultimate winner, Walter W. Johnston, barely featured in the ensuing ruckus. Johnston lived in Wellington, knew little of the Manawatu or rural conditions and was not a good orator, according to the 'Times'.

The 'Times' and other 'little' people supported Snelson, but powerful and influential Scandinavians such as Frits Jenssen and Hjalmar Graff supported Halcombe. Both Halcombe and Snelson had been involved with the Scandinavians in 1871, and both were reaping the rewards of their actions then. Halcombe was denigrated for his attempts to reduce the land allotted them, while Snelson was hailed for the credit and assistance he had provided.

At Terrace End, a special meeting was held for Scandinavians, to give them a 'fair' opportunity to judge between the candidates. Many would have been Richter, Nannestad & Co. employees. The meeting was chaired by Jenssen, co-owner of that company. He was expected to act impartially, but was to be soundly criticised for blatantly favouring Halcombe, at Snelson's expense. A document denigrating Snelson was also printed in the Scandinavian language [probably Danish], and passed around the community in a further attempt to sway those who could not read English. This drew considerable reaction from Snelson's Scandinavian supporters, who published letters in the 'Times', both in English and Scandinavian.

Further from Jenssen's influence, at a meeting Snelson held at Stoney Creek [where the audience would have been farmers], the only dissenting voice was that of Mr George West, presumably L.G. West, who attempted to oppose an otherwise unanimous vote of confidence.

Underlying the debate was a deeper issue. Snelson had a guarded preference for the Ministry of the day, that of Sir George Grey, whom the 'Times' considered the "lesser of two evils". The opposing political grouping was that of Sir William Fox [of the Rangitikei]. The 'Times' considered Johnston one of Fox's disciples, and Halcombe as "a recruit for his uncle's rotten army". [Fox's wife was Halcombe's cousin.]

Despite the local perspective given to the debate, the strong push by Jenssen in favour of Halcombe, or at least against the popular Snelson, tells much. The Grey Ministry favoured the pre-emptive purchase of Maori land by the Crown, as set out in the Treaty of Waitangi. The Ministry had succeeded, by devious means, in re-introducing a form of 'de facto pre-emption' which would-be speculators - and Maori - loathed. Fox and his companions eagerly sought a return to a free trade in Maori land, a goal they shared with the partners Richter, Nannestad and Jenssen. This aspect of the 1879 General Election did much to bring down the Grey Ministry, although Fox lost his own seat and John Hall became Prime Minister instead.

The final twist to this bitter debate was that at the last minute Halcombe was declared ineligible to run for office as he had a Government contract to supply sleepers. Snelson had disposed of a similar contract before being nominated. (MT 27/8/1879, 3/9/1879, 6/9/1879. Also R.C.J. Stone: 51-75; NZPD 1894, Vol. 86: 656-7)

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Adverts from the Manawatu
Times inserted by Carl Emil
Jorgensen & Frederick Ander-
sen.

- (a) 17/12/1881,
- (b) 19/3/1883,
- (c) 21/5/1881.

CELAENO PASSENGERS

(Sometimes mis-spelt as 'Selina' or 'Zealine')

CARL ANDREAS ANDERSEN and ANNE 'Annie' OLSDATTER

(Later Anglicised to 'Anderson')

This family featured in 'EARLY MANAWATU SCANDI-NAVIANS' (Skandia I), page 18-19. However, additions and alterations to that story are included here to make it compatible with the stories of their shipmates. The alterations are:- (1) Establishment costs attributed to Annie, belong to Arne Arnesen Kjolstad [NA: IM 6/7/1]. (2) Page 18:- "Fitzherbert [Avenue]" read "Fitzherbert [now Linton and Aokautere]". (3) Carl died in 1907, not 1910 - his headstone is incorrect. (4) Birth details attributed to Carl, belong to Anne. (5) Page 19:- Omitted from its bibliography was the family source, their grandson, the late Hector Anderson of Dannevirke; also papers in his possession relating to the Andersen, Gundersen and Nils Pedersen families. These were partially supplied by Tom O. Halvorsen, of Arnes, Norway, in 1989, a descendant of Carl's sister.

Anne (24), was born 13 July 1846, at Ostavik, in Eidskog parish, Norway. Carl (22), a blacksmith, was born 9 May 1848, at Beretta, Sor-Odal. Anne's sister, Kari Gundersen and husband, Torkil, (q.v.) were also aboard the *Celaeno*.

Anne was one of the women who remained at Foxton due to advanced pregnancy. The couple's first child, Johan Albert, was born there on 15 March 1871, about five weeks after they reached New Zealand.

The 40 acre Karere property allotted to Carl in 1871 was Lot 11, on part-Sections 351-352. The neighbouring Lot 12 was one of those rejected due to flooding, and Carl's was little better. Before long the Andersen family was also living at Stoney Creek; on Section 417, Lot 5 (41 acres), in Napier Road.

[Establishment Costs: £13/8/6.5. Lot 5 payments: £16/12 May 1873; £8/6 June 1874; £8/6 June 1875; £8/6 Feb. 1876]

'Carl Anderson & Co.' unsuccessfully tendered for at least two roadworks contracts in 1876. "M. and C. Andersen's" tender for 4 chain of Henderson's Line [£1/15/- per chain] had better luck two years later. (WPGG 1876: 125; MRB Minutes 25/4/1876; 29/3/1878)

The buyer of both the Andersen and Gundersen farms at Stoney Creek, on 26 September 1876, was J.T. Dalrymple of 'Te Matai'. Earlier that year, Dalrymple had purchased Sections 229, 230, 231 and 233 in Fitzherbert East, now Aokautere. The Andersen and Gundersen families owned Sections 299, 230 and 231 by 1878. (MT 10/4/1878) Possibly a trade had taken place, involving this land and their former properties. This new land was on the river bank, in what is now the Stace's Road area, and more or less "opposite" the old Palmerston North Gas Works site, which Hector Anderson spoke of. He said this land cost Carl and Annie £8 per acre each. [Note: Mr A.R. Stace also purchased some of this land from Dalrymple. Mrs Stace was a daughter of the C.W. Robert family, of Roberts Line.]

Access to these properties was by boat, or by fording the river near Te Matai Road. Despite this access problem, they were still troubled by trespassers wandering around with guns and dogs. (MT 10/4/1878)

Hector understood that his grandfather operated a saw-mill on this property. However due to the access problems, any mill would have been on a small scale. Carl and his brother-in-law, Torkil Gundersen, were almost certainly involved with the pit-sawing of a stand of totara in this area. The timber was then rafted down the river for use on the Fitzherbert Bridge being built by their ship-mate, Anders Ihle. (q.v.)

The couple's second child, Karen Oliver, was born 5 December 1873. On 2 March 1877, the three-year-old died of severe burns at the Aokautere property. During the previous afternoon, Anne had been milking cows some distance from the house, while Carl was out. Their third child, Thorval, was then three months old. With her mother distracted elsewhere, little Karen supposedly lit a fire at the foot of a cabbage tree. However, the family understands that flying sparks from a bushburn were responsible. Either way, Karen's dress also caught fire. Torkil Gundersen was first at the scene and, in his desperation to save her, his hands were badly burnt also. Doctor F.S. Akers attended her, but she died early the following morning. (MT 3/3/1877)

To keep her from the many other dangers present, Karen had been attached to the tree by a length of rope. With the little girl secure in her safe-play area, Anne thought Karen could come to no harm. Pioneer mothers were forced to resort to this and other such methods to protect their children. The odds were far greater that a curious toddler might drown in some waterway, or become lost in dense bush. What nightmares for tired, hard working parents!

Carl was witness to Karen's burial at Terrace End Cemetery, in the absence of a Minister. The grave records and its site are now lost. She was said to have been one of the first children buried there. The family was traumatised by the event and the subject was not spoken of openly.

After a series of sons, the couple's next daughter, born 29 November 1885, at Albert Street, was also named Karen. Tragically, she died on 8 April 1896 at Dannevirke, her death certificate stating that she had suffered Meningitis for three days. Hector understood she had hit her head on a stone, when falling from a swing. Two generations passed before this family name was used again.

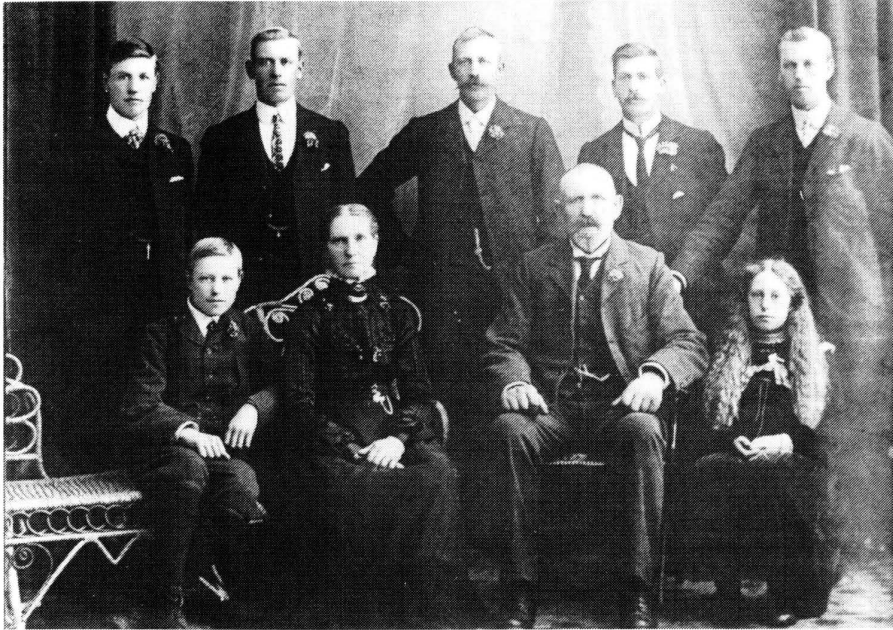
The Palmerston North Rate Books indicate that Carl owned part-Section 150, including a house, in Albert Street between Grey and Broad Streets, from 1879 to 1888. This was opposite the Palmerston Sawmill of Richter, Nannestad & Co. Its part-owner, Frits Jenssen, was the Anderson family's neighbour. Carl also paid the rates on Section 344, Allotments 1-3 [cnr. Cook and Main Streets] between 1879-81.

During this time Carl was again involved with sawmilling. Possibly he was the "Mr Anderson" who was co-lessee of the Palmerston Sawmill, when it burned down on 25 March 1879. This Mr Anderson worked in the bush, while his partner, Robert Newman, worked at the mill. (MT 26/3/1879, 2/4/1879) Hector recalled that Carl supplied the timber for the Longburn Railway Bridge, which was built in 1885. (Hoy: 105)

The family moved to Dannevirke in about 1888, before a short stay at California in the early 1890s. They attempted to settle at North Fork, in Humboldt County, California, where Ethel was born on 19 March 1893. Her baptismal certificate was issued at nearby Eureka on May 10th, and gives her god-parents as Anne's sisters Oline Schulze and Kari Gundersen, along with Oline's husband, Carl August Schulze. The Gundersens had re-emigrated about 1884.

The Andersen family apparently had such a hard time in California that the Minister of the Ullern Church, Norway, where they had been married, helped pay their way back to New Zealand.

Anne was another Scandinavian woman who did not really try to speak English. A highlight of her life came a few weeks before it ended. During a visit to Wellington, she was taken to visit Parliament, where she was given permis-



Carl Andreas and Anne Andersen, with their family, in the early 1900s. Standing are (from left): Emil, Otto Casper, Johan, Thorval and Alfred; Seated are: Oscar, Annie, Carl and Ethel. (France Tindall)



These two boys are probably Johan and Thorval Anderson. The photo was taken in the summer of 1878-9 by Tyree & Huff, and is from the family's album. (Carl Andreas Anderson Album, at Palmerston North City Archives)

sion to sit in the Speaker's chair. Anne died on 18 May 1936, aged 90. She had caught a bad cold during her trip to Wellington, which developed into pneumonia when she got out of her sick bed to cut her hedge. She had, however, outlived all the other adults from the *Celaeno* party.

(Additional family sources:- France Tindall, Stokes Valley; Joan and Ivan Anderson, Waihi Beach; Karen Tindall, Ngaio.)

FOOTNOTE: Ivan and Joan Anderson recently deposited an old family photo album at Palmerston North City Archives. Many of the people in it are clearly Scandinavian, while those who have since been identified have proven to trace to the Sor-Odal district of Norway, where the family originated. A number of the photos appear in this book.

FREDERICK ANDERSEN and KAROLINE EMILIE HANSDATTER

(Frederick arrived as a single man, but visited Norway and married there)

Frederick Andersen's is an unusual story, in that he seems to have had two surnames! Anders Ihle, in his reminiscences, published in the *'Manawatu Daily Times'* of 18 August 1934, confirmed that Frederick Andersen the interpreter was also Frederick Sorensen "known as Andersen", of Boundary Road [now Tremaine Avenue], who is buried at Terrace End Cemetery.

Frederick Andersen/Sorensen, was born 9 February 1839, at Sarpsborg, Norway, the son of Syver Sorensen, a farmer,

and his wife Inger Marie. He was not part of the group, but rather a fellow passenger on the *North Star*. When the original interpreter suddenly changed his mind in London, Frederick applied to take his place. He continued in this capacity for the first few months in New Zealand, helping his countrymen and women by translating letters, and with legal obligations such as registering the births of their children. Frederick was allotted Section 14, Lot 1, 42 acres of the Karere 'Scandinavian Block', near the eastern side of Longburn village, but did not take it up. The 1872 'Wellington Almanack' describes him as an interpreter, while the following year he was a settler.

[Establishment Costs: £7/2/3. Lot 1: nil]

He obviously had some capital, unlike his former shipmates, and clearly a wider education. While he worked alongside his countrymen on the tramway for a time, he rose quickly in financial and social status.

Frederick was also the object of some envy. As an English-speaker he found favour with the Overseer, the somewhat prejudiced Amos Burr. The non-English-speakers noticed that Frederick's sleepers would be passed regardless of their condition, while the ones they prepared were frequently rejected. On one occasion Burr was tricked into accepting sleepers he had already rejected while they belonged to a non-English-speaker. They were indirectly sold to Frederick and the next day Burr passed the whole stack. This did not make for a happy community. C.J. Toxward (q.v.) was then pressed into service as interpreter by the complainants. (NA: IM 6/7/1)

The book 'Bainesse School, 1913-1989' records that in 1873 Frederick Andersen, in partnership with the sawmilling trio John Richter, Jacob Nannestad and Frits Jenssen, purchased 1,029 acres surrounding what is now Bainesse Road. This was flaxmilling country, and flax was the line they intended to follow there. However the notoriously 'boom-bust' flax industry chose 1873 to go into its 'bust' phase and nothing is known of any flaxmill on the site. The Wanganui 'Weekly Herald' of 31 January 1874, when discussing the Foxton-Palmerston tramway, described their land as "a swamp bought cheaply by the Norwegians and drained." (Cassells, 1984: 37) After draining and developing this land, they sold it in 1878, and it became the Bainesse Station. This cash bonus may well have enabled Frederick to become a larger-scale landowner and businessman, and then to visit Norway.

In 1878-9 Frederick paid Rates to Palmerston North Borough Council, for Section 187 and house, on the corner

of Grey Street and Tramway [Heretaunga] Street. This 4.5 acre property was advertised by Richter, Nannestad & Co. in March 1879, when they were attempting to dissolve their partnership, as Richter wished to return to Norway. The property had been fenced and improved, and included a "first class seven-roomed house." (MT 12/3/1879) No external sale eventuated and the property was transferred to Frits Jenssen and then later to Jacob Nannestad.

Andersen then moved to land in Milson, which had probably been milled by Richter, Nannestad & Co. By April 1879 he had the 200 acre Section 426, between Milson, Flyers and Rangitikei Lines, and the adjoining 100 acres of Section 555 in Milson Line. At that time he advertised for owners of surrounding sections to help with boundary fencing. By March 1880 he had Section 556 and was serving a fencing notice on the owner of 557. Presumably these other owners were absentees. (MT 23/4/1879, 21/5/1879, 10/3/1880) The 1st 39-90 Manawatu Road Board Rate Book records him owning Section 555 and part of 556. His largest road frontage was Milson Line, but he lived on Section 556, which fronted Boundary Road.

In 1880 Frederick was granted a Licence to Slaughter on Section 556. He then opened a butcher's shop at Terrace End. The business had its pitfalls, such as the occasion when Frederick took F. Palmer to Court, after the latter's dog injured five sheep. Once, while Frederick, accompanied by Harry Deard, was driving his cart through town, his horse began to perform. It soon lost its balance and fell, with Frederick then falling on top of it. When horse and owner were untangled they continued on their way - if somewhat shaken by the experience! Harry Deard was unhurt. (MT 14/4/1880, 5/5/1880, 19/5/1880, 11/9/1880, 4/12/1880)

Frederick returned to Norway around 1881, where he married Karoline Emilie Hansen in about 1882. He was aged 43. Karoline, born 23 July 1843, was the 39 year old daughter of Johan Hansen, a cooper, and his wife, Anna, nee Rud.

The couple returned to the Boundary Road property around 1884, where Frederick was naturalised on 21 May 1885, aged 45. The couple had no children, or none still alive, by 1900.

Frederick died 30 May 1900, at Boundary Road, aged 61. His obituary described his sufferings from cancer as "very great, and (that his) death came eventually as a happy release." (FS 31/5/1900) The cause of death was Epithelioma, a cancerous growth of the tongue, jaw and glands of the neck, which he had suffered for 12 months. His nephew, S. Sorensen - "also known as Andersen" - of Palmerston North, provided the information for his death certificate.

In 1908, 64 year old Karoline married Mads Peter Sorensen (59), a Dane, who had arrived in New Zealand in 1883. He had farmed in the Bunnythorpe district, but in 1900 he retired to live in Waldegrave Street, Palmerston North. It is possible he was associated with the 'S. Sorensen' who provided the information for Frederick's death certificate. Mads Sorensen has also been described as "known as Andersen".

Karoline Emilie Sorensen died 26 March 1920, aged 76, and was buried with Frederick at Terrace End Cemetery.

Mads later married Peterine Simiane [surname unknown], who was born about 1875. He was a strong supporter of the Lutheran Church in Palmerston North, and at some point he made two world tours. He died on 25 December 1928, aged 79, at Waldegrave Street, and was survived by Peterine, and a brother, Mr J.C. Sorensen, of Auckland. (ES 26/12/1928) Peterine died on 13 July 1961, aged 87, and was buried with Mads at Terrace End Cemetery.

(Sources include: Terrace End Cemetery Register and death certificates of F. Sorensen/Andersen and K.E. Sorensen. Karoline has been documented as 'Emily Caroline'.)

JOHAN ANDREASEN and HELENE JORGINE JOHANNESDATTER

Johan Andreassen (27), a carpenter, was born at Holm, Norway, about 1843. Helene (30) was born about 1840. They were accompanied by their daughters, Johanne (30 months) and Josephine (infant). Johan was allotted Section 355, Lot 3, 38 acres in the Karere Scandinavian Block.

[Establishment Costs: £13/13/5.5. Lot 3 payments: £16/- May 1873; £8/- June 1874; £7/- June 1875; £7/10 Feb. 1876]

Johan was naturalised on 18 March 1875 aged 31. He established himself by taking significant construction contracts. However he first appears in the Manawatu Highways Board Minutes in 1875, being declined for a tender to build a bridge and its approaches in Karere Road. In early 1878 he was awarded the contract to build a bridge on Cemetery Line [now Road], Sandon, for £57/10/-. (MHB Minutes: 5/2/1875, 12/12/1876, 16/1/1878, 29/3/1878)

By February 1878, Johan owned the 80 acre Section 372, in Maxwells Line. At that time he published a demand for owners of Sections 1009 and 1010 to assist with bushfelling and fencing the boundaries. (MT 28/2/1878)

Johan's largest known contract, awarded in June 1878, was to build extensions onto the Foxton Wharf. This new 'temporary' wharf was built using piles made from best-quality totara from his property at Awapuni. By September the wharf extension was within a month of completion, with only "two more tiers to put down." The job entailed piles being driven down along a wharf-length of 140 feet, and 100 feet of this was complete, apart from the flooring. This was delayed by a timber shortage. Johan was also to install a locomotive turn-table, for which part of the planking from the old wharf was being removed. (MT 19/6/1878, 28/8/1878, 14/9/1878)



The Government Wharf at Foxton, which had recently been extended by Johan Andreassen, is almost awash in the major flood of March 1880. This photograph, taken by J.T. Stewart, shows the steamer Jane Douglas straining at its moorings. (Mrs B. Marshall, this copy from Cassells, 1984: 58)

Little is known of Helene and her children, but probably the Andreassen births registered in Palmerston in the 1870s are theirs. These are their known son Albert "Andersen", born 1 July 1872; Henry Yalmer Andreassen [late 1874]; and Johan Alfred Andreassen [late 1875]. On 17 February 1877 Gustav and Matilda Kindberg (q.v.) were married in the Andreassen home. Kindberg was a neighbour of the Andreassen family, while Matilda had come from Norsewood to care for children - possibly those of the Andreassen family.

Of the earliest Scandinavian immigrants, two from the *Celaeno* were especially active as contractors - Johan, and A. H. Ihle. (q.v.) Evidently they did not always get along.

On 12 April 1878, after a time spent at the Royal Hotel, they had a little altercation. Ihle, who came off worst, admitted in Court that he had imbibed to capacity. Had it not been for various far off witnesses - including Constable Gillespie - the matter would apparently have been forgotten. In Court their little battle was transformed into a friendly fun-fight. Despite their claims, Johan was fined £1 for the assault, and Ihle 5/- for his admission of over-indulgence. (MT 20/4/1878)

In February 1880, Neils Berquist (q.v.) sold his Karere farm and purchased Johan's land and cattle. (MT 19/3/1881) Probably the Andreassen family still lived on Lot 3 until then. Due to Johan's off-farm employment, the Andreassen land may have been less well-developed than other farms, such as the one Berquist sold.

On 20 March 1880, Johan found himself off-side with some members of the Palmerston North community. Under the heading "An Absconding Sneak", the 'Manawatu Times' announced his hasty departure from the town. After a scathing and highly racist comparison between Johan and the "Heathen Chinese," they described how he had recently sold his property on Foxton Line for £600 and, along with his savings, had almost £1,000. The locals knew he wanted to visit Norway and would have been very happy about this, had he paid his debts first. Unfortunately, having arranged to meet one creditor at the Palmerston North Railway Station, he instead walked hastily to the Awapuni Railway Station, where he caught the Foxton train, and then the coach to Wellington. Presumably Helene and the children were also making this dramatic exit. Johan was to sail for Melbourne on March 22nd - if he managed to evade his creditors. The 'Times' hoped that *"some of our Norwegian friends will translate this valedictory notice into their vernacular and post it home, so that when [Johan!!] displays his wealth before his countrymen, they will know the manner in which it was gained."*

We do not know the result of this episode. However, assuming the family did leave New Zealand, they possibly returned and made their peace. Johan was not declared bankrupt. He appears to be the Johan Andreassen, "a well known resident of the Palmerston North and Dannevirke districts...", who, in 1906, booked a passage to London, via Sydney, enroute to Bremen. He travelled to Wellington by the evening mail-train, and the next morning was found dead in bed. Letters found on him indicated that he had been a recent patient at Palmerston North and Dannevirke Hospitals. He was aged about 60 years and had "been in the colony for a number of years." His son, Mr J. Andreassen junior, worked for "C. Smiths", in Palmerston North. (ES 3/2/1906; DA 3/2/1906) Nothing more is known for certain of the family.

ARNE ARNESEN (See Arne Arnesen Kjolstad)

CARL AUGUST BERGERSEN and KAREN MARTEA ANDREASDATTER

Carl Bergersen (25), born at Solor, Norway, around 1848-9, had been trained as a cabinetmaker by his father. He married Karen Martea [later Karen Martha] in January 1868, in Christiania. Carl (25) and Karen (25), were accompanied to New Zealand by their two year old son, Oscar B. (AJHR 1871, D-3A: 9)

Probably the Bergersen family are the source of a letter written at Palmerston North on 13 March 1871, and published in a Norwegian newspaper later that year. Their son, and the young boy mentioned in the letter, were both of an age likely to have just mastered speech. The letter is covered in the story of the *Celaeno* voyage.

Karen Bergersen was a third woman from the *Celaeno* who was pregnant when she arrived in New Zealand. The

couple's son, Alexander Marthinus Bergersen, was born at Palmerston on 2 May 1871.

The family was allotted Section 14, Lot 2, consisting of 42 acres in the Karere Scandinavian Block. This is now the western corner of State Highway No. 56 and Rongotea Road. Carl's obituary described it as low-lying and flood-prone.

[Establishment Costs: £13/15/8.5d. Lot 2 payments: £8/- May 1873; £8/16 June 1873; £8/8 June 1874; £8/8 July 1875. Final payment probably 1877. The Wellington Provincial Government was abolished in 1876 and the payment list was no longer published.]

One of the first tasks Carl performed in line with his trade was the making of a wooden leg for Fritz Braunsted (q.v.), who had been disabled in a tree-felling accident. He charged 25/- for the job. (NA: IM 6/7/1) The 'Wellington Almanack' of 1872 and 1873 described Carl as a wheelwright of Palmerston. At an early stage he also began engineering works.

Gustav Kindberg (q.v.) took over the Karere property around 1877; probably the Bergersen family had left it by the mid-1870s. In 1875 Carl advised potential clients that "orders for building materials and furniture (would) be completed to the full satisfaction of the buyers." ('Skandia' 18/11/1875) He gave his address as the 'Norwegian Sawmill', [the former name of the 'Palmerston Sawmill'] in Albert Street. The Bergersens owned part of Sections 149 and 150 in Albert Street, directly opposite the sawmill. Each section included a house.

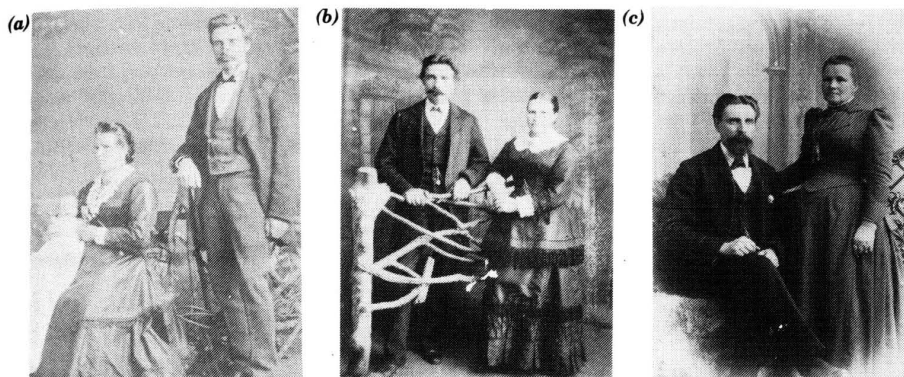
In April 1877, 'Bergersen & Co.' were awarded the contract to cut and fill Anderson's Line [Robert's Line]. Their tender was £104/15/-. This job is now the hill in Roberts Line, which cuts through the Terrace edge above Napier Road. In June they were granted a one-month extension for what had become known as 'Anderson's Cutting'. A part-payment of £54/10/- was made the following November, so presumably the job was by then finished. (MHB: 13/4/1877, 25/6/1877, 5/11/1877)



'Anderson's Cutting', the major road construction job undertaken by 'Carl Bergersen & Co.' in 1877. This is now Roberts Line, and overlooks Napier Road. The road, so-named after H.M. Andersen (q.v.), who owned the farm on the right of the photo, now includes the new Lakemba Park Subdivision and Toyota NZ Ltd.'s National Customer Centre. The original, floodprone house-site was at the foot of the hill. 'Bergersen & Co.' uncovered an underground spring about half-way up the hill, possibly where the footpath is now subsiding. It caused problems for many years. Wooden channelling was installed down the east side of the road, which carried water down to a horse trough at the foot of the hill. The water seemed to disappear when Ernie Jensen, son of Rasmus Jensen (q.v.) opened a metal pit next door. (Val Burr: September 1993)

By 1881, Carl was employed as an [stationary] engine driver.

Carl's obituaries mention that he was active in community matters. As such, in 1883 the family became foundation members of the Palmerston North Open Brethren Assem-



Three of four photos of Carl and Karen Bergersen, from the C.A. Andersen photo album:- (a) was by Tyree & Huff, during their visit in the summer of 1878-9. The baby would be Hulda (1878-1903). (b), by Shailer, would date from the mid-1880s. A captioned copy of this photo appears in the 'Snelson Scrapbook'. (c) probably dates to the 1900s. (Palmerston North City Archives)

bly. Its first meetings were held in Albert Street, possibly at the Bergersen home. Carl was apparently converted while standing at his own garden gate, talking to the missionary, Mr C.H. Hinman. (ES 1/6/1922; 'The Treasury', Vol. 24: 127)

In 1886, Carl founded the engineering company 'C.A. Bergersen - Engineer, Gunsmith, Locksmith and Machinist.' He was described as a gunsmith in his naturalisation records, dated 26 September 1887, and also in the 1895 'Stone's Directory'.

Carl became well known throughout the district for this business. By 1897 the freehold premises in Broad Street consisted of a 1300 square foot, single-storied, wooden building with a 2.5HP water-motor driving two lathes, as well as boring, emery, punching, shearing and other machines. He made models for patents, in addition to manufacturing and repairing all kinds of agricultural implements and machines. The 'Feilding Star' reported that in 1886-7, he and Feilding blacksmith, Jens Jensen, (q.v.) combined to produce a wire-strainer they had patented.

On 27 October 1903 the 'Evening Standard' reported that Carl had "just completed the model of a window sash and frame that has won unqualified praise from everyone who has inspected it. The sashes are worked up and down by a couple of cogs and entirely do away with the necessity for rollers, ropes, window fasteners and weights. The cogs are worked by a couple of ornamental handles, fastened to the frame and the sashes are raised and lowered at will. They can be left at any position, and it is absolutely impossible to move them without the handles, which may be lifted off and the window left open without a chance, except by breaking the whole of the sash, for anyone to enter. The frames and sash will be much cheaper than the ordinary articles and will last for ever. A patent has been taken out for Australasia and after the Palmerston show, where the model will be exhibited, Mr Bergersen intends leaving for America. We understand Mr Bergersen has already refused £5,000 for his patent rights, which will be taken out all over the world. Another advantage possessed by the sashes is that they will lift out of the frame. They can thus be taken out, cleaned and replaced, with a minimum of trouble and labour. Castings are now being made in Wanganui which will raise and lower the sashes with three times their present celerity."

Although it has proved difficult to verify the history of Carl's business, it was clearly a significant achievement for a family who arrived in New Zealand with little or no capital. In 1917, Carl (70) stated that he was of "independent means". The 'Evening Standard' of 5 March 1920 announced that Hildas Bergersen had sold the locksmith business to Mr Hopwood, founder of Hopwood's Hardware.

The family had at least seven children. In addition to the two already mentioned, there was: Hildas Emmanuel [1872]; Olga Lenora Constantia [16/10/1875-1876]. Her birth notice was in the only surviving edition of 'Skandia'; Olga Leonora Constance [1877- cNew Year 1878, during a whooping cough epidemic. (MT 5/1/1878)]; Hulda

Laurence Constance [b 1878] and Ragna Doretta Amalie [b 19/2/1881].

Carl died 31 May 1922, aged 75, having been still at the same Albert Street address. Carl was survived by his widow, three sons, Oscar [Hamilton], Alex [Gisborne] and Hildas [Foxton Line] and one daughter, Ragna Woolhouse [Wanganui]. He shares a grave at Terrace End Cemetery with his son Hildas, who died 11 January 1957.

Unfortunately Karen's date and place of death are untraced at time of publication.

Little is known of the Bergersen children, although the 'Feilding Star' of 30 January 1894 advertised the "Rangiwahia Shoeing Forge", adjoining Pemberton Hotel, where Hildas had commenced business as a general blacksmith. In 1895 Oscar Bergersen was a blacksmith working in Fitzherbert Avenue, while living in Church Street. ('Stones Directory'), Ragna had married the piano and organ tuner, Courtney Wesley Woolhouse, whose family conducted a musical instrument retailing business around the North Island, under the name 'Wesley Woolhouse'. The company was apparently based in Auckland, but C.W. Woolhouse had lived in Palmerston North, Wanganui and then in the Auckland area. Hulda [born 1878] married Herbert Newport, but died in 1903, aged 24. (ES 16/4/1903)

In 1910 Hildas purchased the former homestead of Frank Pearce Snow, the major partner with Richter, Nannestad and Jenssen, in the purchase of the Hokowhitu Block from its Rangitane owners. This house had its foundations undermined in June 1907 when the Manawatu River flooded, and it had been shifted to a healthier site. (ES 28/6/1907, 6/7/1907, 10/7/1907) Unfortunately, while Hildas was renovating it, the house mysteriously burnt down, during the week Pawelka [and possibly others] burned down a number of buildings in the town. (P.N. Fire Brigade Scrapbook, 9/4/1910) (Sources included: R.D.A. Bergersen's birth certificate)

NILS JONSSON BERGQVIST and JOHANNA AUGUSTA NEILSDOTTER (Later Anglicised to 'Berquist')

Nils, later Neils, Berquist was born 1 November 1835, in Åhus parish, Kristianstad, Sweden. In about 1865 [possibly 21 December, according to Alfred's birth certificate] he married Johanna Augusta, born 23 March 1846, in Karlskoga parish, Örebro, Sweden. Their first child, Emma Christina, was born at Karlskoga on 1 April 1867, while Carl Frithiof was born at Boda, Varmland, Sweden, on 16 September 1869. [His naturalisation says 16/9/1868.] It is not known how or why they became involved in the recruiting drive, although Varmland borders Norway. Neils (35) was described as a workman on the passenger list.

The Berquists were allotted Section 353, Lot 8, which comprised 40 acres in the Karere Scandinavian Block. By 1873 Neils was also paying off Lot 9, the 40 acres originally allotted to Hagbert Reinersen. Johanna's obituary described this farm as being on the banks of the Mangaone Stream.

[Establishment Costs:- £13/19/10.5. Lot 8 & 9 payments: £32/- May 1873; £16/- June 1874; £16/- June 1875; £16/- Dec. 1875]

In 1874 'Berquist and McEwin' did 90 chains of works on the Palmerston-Fitzherbert Road, plus 20 chains of fencing. For this they earned £168. (WPGG, 1874: 80) The Manawatu Highway Board Minutes for 15 March 1877 record that Neils and Laurits Gulbrandsen were behind with their roading contracts on the Karere and McKeown's [McEwen's?] Roads. Each was threatened with a penalty. Maybe Neils had been distracted by the death of his baby son several weeks earlier. Nothing more was mentioned.

On 17 February 1878, Neils retrieved six stray sheep from the roadside and then found himself accused of stealing them! He had bought a small mob of sheep a few months earlier and six had soon gone missing. When he saw the sheep grazing opposite his home, he thought they might either be his, or from the flocks of two other local settlers, Mr Knight and Mr Manson, which had recently passed by. As luck would have it, the following morning while he was away working cattle, a stray dog maimed one sheep, which had to be destroyed. At about this time the Maori owners of the sheep appeared to reclaim them and pointed out the identification mark on the dead sheep. Neils offered to return the carcass and skin, and to pay the value of the sheep.

Just as the owners were about to accept his offer, a neighbour appeared and suggested he pay the owners £5 as compensation. When he protested, the owners and their 'adviser' had him charged with sheep stealing. When he then offered to pay the £5 to end the matter, the owners demanded £25. He was then committed for trial in Wellington, with a bail of £100. His former employer, Mr B. Manson, covered this sum. (MT 2/3/1878) It is not known what happened at Wellington. Ironically, if the sheep had remained in the roadside, they would probably have been hit by a train.

In February 1880 the Berquist family sold their farm to Mr S.W. Luxford for £12 per acre. A neighbour, William Weeks, also sold his farm to Luxford, at £7 per acre. At £960 for the Berquist farm, this was a significant return on the now-developed land, which had cost £80 only nine years earlier. (MT 18/2/1880)

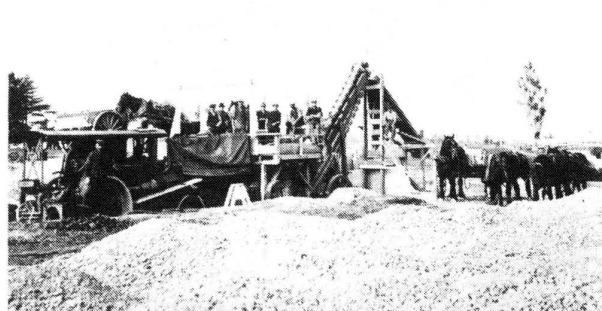
Neils then purchased all the land and cattle owned by Johan Andreasen (q.v.) for £600. This appears to have included the 38 acre, Lot 3 of the Karere Scandinavian Block and also 80 acres in Maxwell's Line. (MT 20/3/1880, 19/3/1881) As Andreasen had spent much of his time contracting around the district, possibly his land, and especially that in Maxwell's Line, had not been developed extensively. The Berquist family then made its home on the Maxwell's Line property. Neils was there in October 1880. It was he who noticed the Maxwell family home in flames while Mr and Mrs Maxwell were milking their cows. There was barely time to rescue the Maxwell baby, which had been in its cradle inside the house. (MT 13/10/1880)

The transactions between Andreasen, Weeks and the Berquists were complicated ones. First Andreasen apparently departed without paying his debts, while Weeks then charged Neils with selling a heifer he claimed had strayed onto the Berquist farm. Neils said he had bought it from Andreasen during that transaction and, after taking it with him to his new farm on Maxwell's Line, he had eventually sold it. The judgement went against Neils, although this was reversed on appeal. (MT 19/3/1881, 9/4/1881)

The Berquist farm's close proximity to the Awapuni Racecourse, then in the Wikiriwhi Crescent area, was another source of problems. In December 1883 he warned, through the newspaper, that trespassers on race day would be prosecuted. (MT 21/12/1883)

The Manawatu Road Board Minutes record a number of entries relating to the Berquists. On 2 June 1886 a discussion took place over whether Neils should complete a Deed of Lease for the Awapuni Gravel Pit. By 7 July 1886 Neils

had refused to do so, and the Board became insistent. The meeting of 25 June 1888 saw them pressing for back-rent, probably for the gravel pit. On 1 December 1886 Neils requested a portion of Maxwell's Line be formed. Tenders were then called to form 15.5 chain of it. He made other occasional requests for work to be done to Maxwells Line.



Charlie Berquist is seated on the elevator frame on the right of this group of workers, at the Awapuni Gravel Pit, on Maxwells Line, between Racecourse Road and the former Awapuni Old People's Hospital. The pit, which Charlie's father, Neils, had been obliged to lease, had been vested in the Manawatu Road Board in 1884. It was transferred to the Kairanga County Council in 1901. Other men identified are Jack Findlay, on the traction engine, and J.N. Christensen, seated third from right. (Palmerston North Public Library)

His apparent prosperity may have been resented by some of his neighbours. However it is obvious that Neils was willing to fight for what he believed in. Johanna's obituary described the couple as having been model settlers, who were well known for their kindly disposition.

The Manawatu Road Board's Rate Book for 1889-90 indicates that Neils paid rates on Part Section 361, Kairanga, owned by "Natives"; Section 362, Block XIII, 33 acres owned by the Manawatu Road Board, between Racecourse Road and Totara Road - the Awapuni Gravel Pit; and their 80 acre, Section 372 [formerly Andreasen's], which was bisected by Long Melford Road.

The Berquist family grew steadily, to at least eleven children, although they were later said to have had nine. Henry Neilson had died as an infant in 1872. The following year another Henry Neilson 'Harry' was born. Then came Tilly in 1875 [no registration] and Hildus in 1876. On 24 February 1877 they lost 5 month old Hildus, who had suffered from diarrhoea for 7 days. Johanna apparently could not then write, as she marked the death registration with a cross. In 1877 Ida Albertine was born, then William in 1878, followed by another son named Hildus, in 1879. Finally Alfred 'Fred' on 25 November 1882 and Edith in 1885.

Johanna's obituary indicates that around 1890 the family moved to Tokomaru, where they were amongst that district's earliest settlers. Alfred, Edith and William Berquist were amongst the earliest pupils at Tokomaru School, which opened in 1893. (Stevenson: 286) Neils, who was naturalised 28 September 1893, then died on 28 May 1895, being survived by 8 children.

Johanna's failing health forced her to sell the Tokomaru farm around 1907. She then moved to Palmerston North where she lived with her unmarried daughter and granddaughter in Ada Street. Johanna died 9 February 1915 and was survived by 7 children: sons - Charles, Hildas (II), William and Fred; and daughters - Mrs Robert Stallard, Mrs Edward Smith and Miss E. Berquist. (ES 10/2/1915) The couple are buried at Terrace End Cemetery, Palmerston North.

Emma married Robert Hudson Stallard in 1886 at Palmerston North, and died 15 December 1955, a widow, survived by one child. Carl Frithiof ['Charles Frederick'] was a

first day pupil at Karere School when it opened on 13 June 1877. He married Ada Elizabeth Hill in 1895 at Palmerston North and was naturalised on 17 July 1925. A driver, he died 2 July 1944, at Palmerston North, being survived by his wife and four children. (Aminoff Ref: 406, 407, 412, 413. Also spelt: Berggoist, Bergquist)

(Family source:- Heather Lean, Newmarket, Auckland; Pat Hughes, Palmerston North. Also A.N. Berquist's birth certificate)

MARTIN CHRISTOPHER BOESEN and MARTHA MARIA ANDERSDATTER (Later Anglicised to 'Boeson.')

Martin (20) was born in Christiania, Norway, where he and Martha (20) were married in February or March of 1870. Martin was described as a machinist on the passenger list.*

The Boesens were one of the four families who refused their flood-prone Karere land. They were transferred to the 41 acre, Section 417, Lot 5, on Napier Road, Stoney Creek. [Establishment Costs:- £13/9/6. Lot 5 payments: nil] Martin made two payments, totalling £11/9/4, possibly on land, prior to 26 March 1873.]

Prior to the arrival of George Snelson, Palmerston had been served by the Swedish storekeeper, Andrew Jonson, of Foxton. It was Jonson who had taken in the pregnant women from the *Celaeno*. (see 'Skandia I': 3) The Boesens, and no doubt their shipmates, purchased supplies from Jonson, using credit. In April 1871 Martin was working under the overseer, Amos Burr, and records show that he earned £4/3/3 for 5.75 chain of road/building. He signed this sum over to Jonson, whose receipt was dated 11 May 1871. (NA: IM 6/7/1)

At some point during the terrible 1871 winter - possibly before May 11th - Martin and Martha abandoned Palmerston for the comparative comfort of Wanganui. They were accompanied by Johan and Caroline Jacobsen (q.v.), who were expecting a baby. Both couples were yet to repay the money advanced by the Government.

Martin and Johan Jacobsen found work with Henry Shafto Harrison, a prominent settler from Warrengate, near Fordell. Harrison, a former Member of the House of Representatives, wrote to the Government on 12 September 1871, speaking highly of them. He criticised the treatment they had received, saying they had received only a small portion of their provisions. He considered that they were not yet in a position to repay this debt as they had so little clothing and "outfit." He suggested the sum be modified, but was willing to recover the money "as far as I can." It is unlikely that any reduction was granted to them, or any others in the group. (NA: IM 6/7/1)

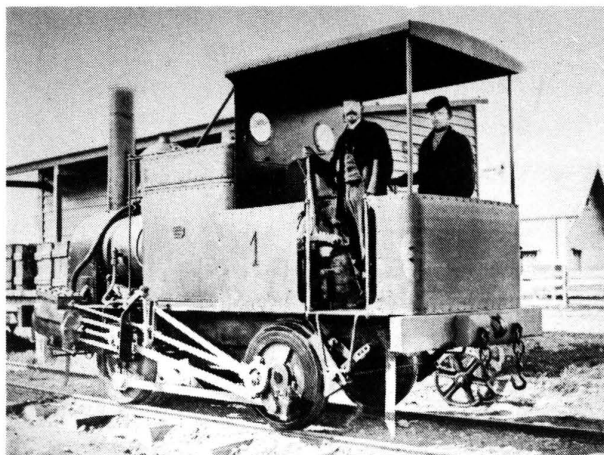
By 15 November 1871, Martin was back in Palmerston, and before long he transferred his rights to Lot 5, to Carl Andreas Andersen (q.v.). While under oath as the defendant in a court case, Martin proudly staked his place in the history of Palmerston North. He told the Court that he had driven the first locomotive into the town. (MT 19/4/1879) Complicating this honour is the problem of 'which' first locomotive!

The 'actual' first was the small, open Sparrow locomotive 'Palmerston', with its crude appearance and its up-right boiler. It was shipped up-river to Ngawhakarau, near Opiki, in August 1872, but was soon parked in a shed and had limited use. It does not seem to have been considered worthy of the honour by many people of the day. Anders H. Ihle (q.v.) and others totally ignored the 'Palmerston' when speaking of the 'first locomotive'.

The second 'first' locomotive, which had a more typical appearance, was the 8-ton Mills tank-locomotive, known as the 'Skunk'. Its first journey from Foxton to Palmerston occurred on 23 October 1875. By that time only 9 miles at the Palmerston end still had wooden tracks. Anders Ihle,

Martin's good friend, had the 'Skunk' brought up to use on his railway contract in the town. The trip resulted in damage to many of the wooden rails.

Almost certainly Martin was the 'Skunk's' driver on 23 October 1875. W.F. Bowes is known to have been its driver soon after this. The 'Skunk's' twin, 'Wallaby,' arrived a short time later, which may explain the whereabouts of Martin. (Cassells, 1984: 26-8, 46, 50; Perfect: 5)



The 8-ton locomotive 'Skunk' - the earliest known photograph taken by Charles Mariboe at Palmerston North, supposedly after 'Skunk's' trial run from Foxton, in April 1876. The locomotive, almost certainly driven by Martin Boesen, had first arrived in the town on 23 October 1875. The iron-railed Foxton-Palmerston line officially opened on 1 May 1876. The fireman is George Hughes, who had previously driven the horse-drawn tram. It is possible that the unknown driver may be Boesen. (Palmerston North Public Library)

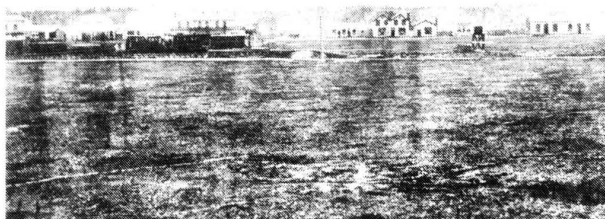
When not train driving, Martin had to seek more mundane employment. The Manawatu Highways Board Minutes of 11 July 1873 record that 'Johansen and Boesin' (sic) unsuccessfully tendered to gravel the footpaths around the Square. In January 1877 'Boesin & Co.' also failed with a tender for work on Karere Road.

On 13 September 1877, Martin, described as a locomotive driver, lost a friend as a result of a nineteenth century combination of alcohol and speed. Sven Olsen (23), an unmarried Swede from Moutoa, spent the night of September 12th at the Boesen home, in Palmerston. The following afternoon, Olsen, Boesen and Anders Ihle, settled down to share a bottle of brandy, again at the Boesen home. At 6pm, after consuming three-quarters of the bottle between them, Olsen, a competent horseman, saddled up his horse and set off to buy another bottle. The horse was a noted "racer" and, typically, the pair galloped off at high-speed. He had said he would be back from the Palmerston Hotel in five minutes. Apparently he had a change of heart and he headed out of town. At about 8pm Olsen's body was found lying face-down in a puddle on the road "near Te Awa Puni", probably meaning the Rangitane village. He had fallen from his horse, winded himself, and drowned where he landed. (Aminoff No. 2425; MT 19/9/1877, 6/10/1877)

Martin suffered a major accident at some time prior to mid-1878. He apparently slipped while boarding a moving train and lost one leg under its wheels. This obviously had a significant effect on the family, but Martin was apparently able to continue working as a locomotive driver, at least for a few years. [Note: Incident not noted in 'Manawatu Times' 1877-9]

In April 1878 Martin arrived at Foxton on the *Jane Douglas*, on a voyage from Wellington. The reason for this trip is unknown. In June 1878 he unsuccessfully tendered for the less physically demanding position of Engineer to the Manawatu Highways Board. He had the lowest tender,

at £150 per annum, but in this instance economy was not the only requirement. H.J. Haynes of Gisborne was appointed. Martin must have had at least some of the required skills. (MHB Minutes: 15/1/1877, 29/6/1878; MT 10/4/1878)



Palmerston North's railway station in the centre of the Square, in 1878. It was from this platform that Martin Boesen made his second attempt at falling under a train in April 1879. This photo shows Rangitikei Street disappearing into dense bush which began between Featherston Street and Tremaine Avenue - then called Boundary Road. (Palmerston North Public Library)

The financial circumstances of a family with a disabled breadwinner at that time was very difficult and the Boesen family was no exception. Martin described his circumstances when local storekeepers, Walton & King, took him to court seeking £6/9/1. He said he had not earned £5 in the last three months and had not spent 5/- on drink in the last two months. He was ordered to pay £2 per month, or spend one month in the Wanganui Gaol. It is not known which option he took. (MT 7/9/1878)

The couple's third child, Francesca, was born in 1877, and the midwife who delivered her was Ann Neilsen, for a fee of 10/-. Martin's financial situation again intervened and eventually Neilsen took him to court seeking a fee of £1. He admitted owing 10/- and was obliged to pay this, and 5/- costs. (MT 19/4/1879)

In 1878-9 Martin paid rates on a house on part-Section 960, in Ferguson Street, about where Ranfurly Street now is. The Rate Books for the following year reveal financial problems once again. These resulted in the Borough Council taking him to Court, where the Council was granted 15/- to cover the arrears. (MT 21/2/1880) In 1879 Martin narrowly avoided repeating the accident which had cost him his leg. He was at that time reliant on a crutch and a stick. It seems likely that he also had hearing problems as, while talking to a friend on the Palmerston North railway platform, he managed to miss hearing the guard's whistle and also the train departing for Foxton. It had reached 5 mph by the time Martin finally made a dash for it. By then only the guard's van was within reach. Unfortunately, because of the crowded platform and his disability, Martin was thrown onto his back on the platform. His stick was smashed under the wheels of the guard's van. The 'Manawatu Times' remonstrated that he, of all people, should have known better than to do such a thing. The act of trying to board a moving train earned him a 5/- fine, plus Court costs. Martin remarked that he should have been told of this By-law, as he could not read or write English. (MT 2/4/1879, 19/4/1879) There had been other prosecutions for this action and it seems unlikely that Martin, of all people, would not have heard of at least one of them.

By the end of 1881 Martin was a settler in Aokautere. The easiest access was by boat across the river, apparently from the Fitzroy Street area. On one occasion he was accompanied by a Mrs Newcombe and a man named Joseph Sutcliffe Foulds. Martin was to take Mrs Newcombe across and then return for Foulds about fifteen minutes later; however Foulds became impatient, and although he could not swim or operate a canoe, he decided to

risk the attempt. His body was found about three weeks later. (MT 1/10/1881, 26/10/1881)

Martin and Martha had six children: Edmond, or Edward; Leonard [1874-1875]; Edmund [1876-1876], Francesca Adelina [5/5/1877, P.N.]; Einar 'Ludvig' [8/1/1879, Jackeytown. Einar pronounced 'A-nar']; Minda Amalie Julia Constance [8/9/1880, Jackeytown] and Maria Lydia [20/7/1882, P.N.].

The family was living in Palmerston North when Maria was born in 1882, Martin then being described as an engineer. In 1883 they were apparently renting a home at Terrace End, Palmerston North. It was there at 11:45pm on 5 May 1883 that Maria suffered a heart attack. Martin rushed to seek help and soon returned with the Methodist minister, Rev. Christoffersen, who was probably a neighbour. By then 35 year old Martha was already dead. The Inquest found that she had been in her "usual health" during her final day and had eaten a "hearty tea." The cause of death was described as a "stoppage of heart action." (MT 7/5/1883, 8/5/1883)

Little is known of what became of the children after their mother's death and it is presumed that they were fostered or adopted. Certainly 10 month old Marie Lydia was legally adopted on 29 May 1883, only three weeks after her mother's death. She became the new daughter of Danish-born Carl Frantzen and his wife. The Frantzens were prominent in the Palmerston North Lutheran Church and in the Scandinavian community. Carl Frantzen, a jeweller and watchmaker, would have been aged about 45 at the time. The Frantzen family appears to have left Palmerston North, and possibly the country, in the mid-1890s. (MT 30/5/1883, 12/11/1883)



Carl Frantzen's jeweller and watchmaker's shop, between Rangitikei Street and Coleman Place, forms a backdrop to this photo of the last Maori feast held in the Square, in 1884. This was the year after the Frantzen family adopted Marie Boesen. This feast was held to celebrate the final decision of the Native Land Court, regarding the Horowhenua Block. "Seven bullocks and innumerable sheep were roasted, and great quantities of shark and kumara, and other Maori delicacies were prepared. Every stake for two or three chains in the Square palisade bore a banknote, and for months the Maoris spent money in the town right royally. They knew how to celebrate in those days, both Maori and Pakeha." (A.J. Page: 145) (Palmerston North Public Library)

Although Martin paid no rates in Palmerston North after 1878, the family did live here at times, including 1883 and also when he was naturalised on 1 October 1890. He was described as a 36 (sic) year old engine driver. The term 'engine driver' applied to stationary engine operators at sawmills and similar industrial plants.

By 1891 Martin was living at Foxton in a defacto relationship with Mina Haymann, the illegitimate daughter of Mary Stanley. Mina, born in Broadway, Worcester, England, on 8 September 1854, had married John Haymann at Patea in 1880. Haymann had then deserted Mina and their two children, John ['Jack'] and Annie.

Martin and Mina's first child, Violet Boesen Haymann, born 11 February 1891, was registered as "illegitimate" at Foxton, by the midwife, E. Howles. Violet was the only one of their four children whose birth was registered. The others were Martin junior [c1893], George [c1895] and James [1896]. In later life these boys had problems proving their ages.

Little is known of Martin's years at Foxton, other than that at some point he was bitten by a Katipo spider. Possibly he did not live to see the birth of James, his youngest son, as he died of diabetes at Foxton on 28 January 1896. Ludvig, by then aged 17 and a resident of Palmerston North, signed the death certificate. Neither Ludwig nor Mina was able to give details of Martin's Norwegian background.

Mina remained in Foxton with her children, living in the old Foxton 'Ferry House'. On one occasion this close proximity to the Manawatu River was almost fatal: Violet fell into it from a Maori canoe, but luckily was rescued by her brother George. On 12 March 1899 Mina, aged 44, married Henry Fiford at Foxton. She had no more children. Later the family moved to Petone where they were joined by Mina's oldest son, who was a tailor. Mina died at Wellington on 18 January 1915, aged 60 years and was buried at Karori Cemetery.

Descendants of Martin and Mina have attempted to find descendants of Martin and Martha, but to no avail. Ludvig had moved to Auckland by the time of his marriage in 1910, at Palmerston North, to Miss H.M. Yortt, the daughter of a Swedish couple. His best man was Fred Kuitze [now Coutts]. (ES 22/6/1910) The couple lived in Auckland, where Ludvig died in the 1950s. Their only known child died as a premature baby. Possibly Martin and Martha's older daughters, and certainly the child adopted by the Frantzens, grew up under other surnames. (Incorrect spellings: Bosen, Boesin)

(Family Sources:- Ian Ramsay, Lower Hutt; Brian Boeson, Greytown. Also birth certificates of M.A.J.C. & M.L. Boesen)

* Ian Ramsay's search of Norwegian records reveals that Martin Christoffersen Boesen (19), a machinist from Chrania, at least attempted to emigrate to Monro (U.S.A?) on 2/4/1870, on board the *Roska*. However, he was back by 2/10/1870, at which time he married Martha at Christiania. Martha was from Romedal. Their fathers were Christopher Boesen and Anders Andersen.

ANDERS CHRISTIAN CHRISTENSEN and MARIE NILSDOTTER

The biography of this family appeared in 'EARLY MANAWATU SCANDINAVIANS' (Skandia I) page 20-2. Information discovered since has been included to keep this story compatible with the others now covered. Alterations to the earlier story include: page 20 - The familiar story is that the *Celaeno* women were transported by canoe only as far as Rangiotu; however Marie and Johanna Berquist claimed to have been taken all the way to Palmerston North. This has since been confirmed as the means by which the *Celaeno* women arrived. Page 21 - The farm was sold June 1885, not June 1886.

Anders Christian Christensen (33), a Norwegian baker-miller, and his Swedish wife Marie (30) had been married at Nes Church, Norway, in July 1868. They were accompanied to New Zealand by their daughter Martha (2), who became known as 'Annie.'

The family rejected the land they were allotted in the Karere Scandinavian Block and were transferred to Section 416, Lot 7 (48 acres) in Napier Road, Stoney Creek.

[Establishment costs:- £13/16/5.5. Lot 7 payments:- £19/4 May 1873; £10/- June 1874; £10/- June 1875; £8/16 Aug. 1876]

In November 1877, at the time Richter, Nannestad & Co. were setting up their flourmill, the Christensen farm was advertised for sale. Also advertised was the farm of William Erenstrom (q.v.), who was to be Head Miller at this



The stern expression on the face of mid-wife, Marie Christensen, is blamed on her son Richard (born 1872), biting her finger as the photo was taken. Marie died in childbirth at Stoney Creek on 13 March 1885, leaving her husband with seven children. (Val Burr)

flourmill for the next 45 years. Neither farm was sold. The Christensen farm then consisted of a "well-built" four-roomed house, a bakery and a barn. The property was apparently considered to be one of the best sections in the Scandinavian Block. (MT 14/11/1877)

By 1882 Anders owned 89 acres in the Manawatu County, valued at £900. (1882 Freeholders List.) In 1883 "A.C. Christiansen" advertised a Stoney Creek property consisting of 18 acres of cleared land and "about" 7 acres of bush. He may have bought the adjoining Lot 8, which was 24 acres. There was plenty of totara for fencing and "a good supply of water on the ground all the year". Possibly this term described the floodprone lagoon! (MT 7/5/1883)

During the early months of 1883, a faith healer, Milner Stephen, was offering his services in Wanganui. Amongst those who visited him from Palmerston North were a Mrs Steinberg [Stenberg ?] and Anders, who suffered rheumatism. (MT 14/2/1883) Others were far more sceptical, including a Doctor Patrick from Christchurch, who challenged Stephen to remove his bunion! (MT 22/3/1883)

Marie was evidently skilled at handcraft. No doubt it was she who spun the wool which, under her husband's name, won Doctor Marriner's prize for home-spun wool, at the 1883 Palmerston North Summer Horticultural Show. (MT 23/2/1883) Doctor Marriner was later to attend her when she died in childbirth in 1885.

Amongst Anders' efforts was a letter to the newspaper, pointing out the dangerous state of trees overhanging the road at Terrace End. He said that recently a large branch had fallen onto the road. (MT 28/3/1883)

Family tradition has it that he invented a telescope for looking at the stars and also a waterwheel which theoretically worked in still water. The Editorial in the 'Manawatu Times' of 22 March 1883 described this waterwheel in some detail:

"Mr A.C. Christiansen (sic) of Stoney Creek has for some time past been devoting his attention to ... devising some improved means of using water as a motive power, and utilising the force in our numerous rivers and streams. He informs us that he has now devised a waterwheel, which may be worked in any river where a fall of 18 inches or two feet can be obtained, and by the erection of a sloping dam, which need not cross the river, but may merely run parallel to its banks for about two chain, such a fall can be obtained in any New Zealand river. Mr Christiansen's (sic) specialty lies in the peculiar formation of the waterwheel etc., which we are not at liberty to describe, as we learn that he contemplates taking out a patent for his improvement. Should he be successful in doing this, there will be no doubt that the manufacturing industries will receive a great stimulus by obtaining a cheap motive power. We may mention that Mr Christiansen (sic) has had great experience in his native country, Norway, and his idea will no doubt be found thoroughly practicable. It would probably pay some of our sawmillers or others to place themselves in communication with him."

It is not known what became of the waterwheel and it does not seem to have been patented.

Anders purchased a Featherston Street property in November 1885 from the Methodist minister, Rev. Otto Christoffersen, who had moved to Mauriceville. This property transfer occurred six months after Marie's death. Probably Anders' decision to give up the farm was influenced by his crippling rheumatism, plus he had previously suffered a series of severe losses [in addition to Marie] including a valuable yearling colt. (MT 29/11/1884) Being a baker by trade, Anders almost certainly worked nearby at the Manawatu Flour Mill. The Featherston Street property and another in Main Street appear to have been taken over by the Mortgagor in the late 1890s. It is not certain what Anders' circumstances were at that time; however, he does not seem to have gained much in the long term, despite a promising beginning.

(Family source:- Val Burr, Palmerston North)

NILS CHRISTIAN CHRISTIANSEN and MARIE MARGARITA NILSDATTER

Nils Christian Christiansen was born at Asak, Norway, around 1839. In October 1868, at Christiania, he married Marie Margarita, who was born about 1844. Nils (31) was recorded as a carpenter on the passenger list. He and Marie (27), were accompanied by their first child, Albert Christian Christiansen, born 15 March 1870.

The Christiansens were amongst the four families who were transferred to the Stoney Creek settlement. They received Section 417, Lot 4, 33 acres on Napier Road.

[Establishment costs:- £15/14/5.5d. Lot 4 payments:- £14/- May 1873; £8/- June 1874; £11/10 June 1875]



Nils Christian Christiansen.
(from McLennan: 18)

Nils built his family a home on Lot 4 almost immediately. This was in fact the first cottage to be built on Napier Road. (MT 3/4/1879) It burned down on 25 March 1879, "7 or 8" years later, and the resulting Coroner's Report provides a detailed description of an early Scandinavian house in the district, as well as its demise.

The cottage was built of heart totara, with a shingle roof on the main part and an iron roof on the attached 'lean-to'. The carpenter [C.E. Jorgensen?] was paid between £20 and £30 to build it. Nils paid about £15 for the original timber, and a further £4 while he worked for J.T.Stewart on the Foxton tramway. He later purchased 2,000 feet of timber from Richter, Nannestad & Co., for £12. The chimney had about 1,000 bricks, which were expensive, but he could not remember the cost. He was unable to write, so was unaware of the exact cost of everything. The house had no verandah or ornamentation of any kind, nor was it painted. The front room was lined, including scrim and wall paper; the kitch-

en was lined but not papered, while the other room was lined on two sides. Nils valued the house at £80 at the time of the fire.

Nils received Title to his property on 5 June 1875, and then borrowed £100 from the Manawatu Permanent Equitable Building & Investment Society to help develop it. This Mortgage appeared on its Certificate of Title dated 5 June 1877. The £1 he paid for an insurance policy on the house at that time was to become the source of complications when the fire occurred, as the salesman, Mr Powell, was both the Manager of the Manawatu Building Society, and also an Agent for the New Zealand Insurance Co. Being both illiterate and a 'foreigner', Nils had no idea that the house was being insured until he was asked for the £1 fee. Following the inquest, the Coroner censured Powell, and insurance agents in general, for not obtaining a true valuation on the property being insured. Powell had not even seen it - yet he chose to insure it for £100. Nils, even then, only valued it at about £80.

On the day of the fire, the family was in the process of moving into a new house built on the property. Possibly the local carpenter, Carl E. Jorgensen (q.v.), had been involved, as he was to remove the old cottage when Nils returned from his 'off-farm' employment, splitting logs in the bush. The house-moving job required three men. Nils had left home to go to this job on the Monday morning.

The next morning Marie, her children, and Mrs Perine M. Dahlstrom, from Roberts Line, began shifting the small amount of furniture from the old house to the new one. Soon after, Marie's daughter, Dagne, came running out of the kitchen of the old house, saying it was full of smoke. Passers-by came to their rescue, including Las Lassen and Peter Andersen who dampened the flames and helped remove furniture. However, no sooner had they moved on, than the cottage burst into flames again and was destroyed.

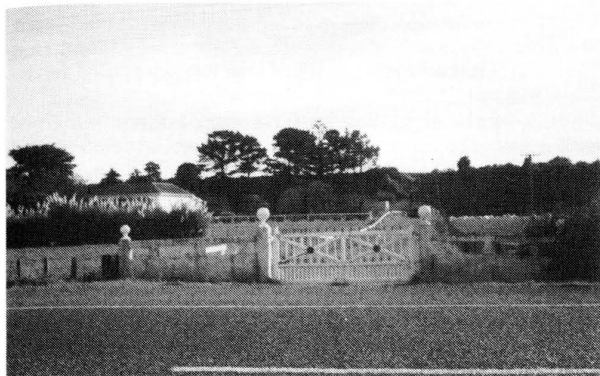
Marie and Mrs Dahlstrom had lit the kitchen fire for dinner, before going to the new house. Dagne was left there in charge of the children, including the baby sleeping in its cradle in the kitchen. There was no fireplace in the front [bed] room, where the fire started. The bedding was hanging outside "as was the usual custom." There was only a pillow and blanket on the bedstead upon which the original fire developed. Marie recalled that she had previously seen her young son take a piece of firestick and pretend it was a pipe. It was a very windy day and the wind was blowing directly into the open kitchen door. It was possible a spark had blown from the fireplace, through the frontroom door which was opposite it, and onto the bed. The Jury found that the fire was accidental. (McLennan: 31; MT 3/4/1879)

The family had at least five more children in New Zealand; however, the true number is complicated by unregistered births. These children were: Dagne Elizabeth [registered as 'Dagny Elise'], born 9 October 1872; Inga Marie, born 1874; the little boy who may have started the housefire, who sounds much younger than Albert; the baby who was in the cradle at the time of the 1879 fire, which obviously died young; Fritz, born 10 March 1882; and William, apparently born sometime after 1883. Possibly the small boy and the baby who appear to have died young, are the occupants of the plot at Terrace End Cemetery which Nils purchased on 31 August 1882. The only Christiansen/Christensen death in Palmerston North for 1882 was Elida Christensen, whose birth registration could not be found. A William Christiansen was born in Palmerston North in 1880.

Albert and Dagne were amongst the 24 first day pupils at Stoney Creek School when it opened on 4 October 1877. Presumably Dagne was kept home from school on the day of the fire, which was not an unusual situation for daughters. School attendance was only compulsory for three days per week at the time. (McLennan: 65) Nils was later a School Committee member. Education was obviously important to the family. In fact Nils was unable to even sign

his name when he applied for naturalisation in 1884. This was granted on 21 May 1885.

On 13 March 1885, their near-neighbour and former shipmate, Marie Christensen, died in childbirth, and the Christiansen family bought the Christensen property, Lot 7, almost immediately. The land transfer was recorded on 12 June 1885, with Nils mortgaging Lot 4 to cover the cost.



Nils and Marie Christiansen's home on Lot 7, Napier Road, Whakarongo, in 1993. The original cottage, that of Anders Christian and Marie Christensen, was near the gate. It was shifted to a higher site near the present house site, and was later used as a carshed. It was demolished in the 1970s. (Val Burr)

The Christiansen family continued to operate both farms, which were separated by Lots 5 and 6, then owned by the large-scale farming brothers, A.E. and H.H. Russell. In 1889 Lot 4 was sold and it was probably about then that the family built the present home on Lot 7.

In January 1900 the large Russell [formerly Dalrymple] property was sold and dispersed, with Nils purchasing both Lots 5 and 6 [C.T. transferred 12/4/1900]. By then they had at least 137 acres, which they operated as a dairy unit.

On 15 March 1904 Albert married Elmina Saraphia Swenson, whose parents, John and Christina Svenson, or Swenson, [Aminoff No. 3054 & 3023] farmed in James Line. The couple made their home in town, with Albert cycling out to the farm each day to collect milk, and presumably the horse and cart, for a milk run he operated.

Nils died at the farm on 10 March 1915, aged 76. He had been crippled by arthritis, attributed to the very damp conditions he experienced in the early days in the area. The farm was transferred to Marie in July 1915 and then, in August 1915, to their sons, Albert and Fritz. By about 1916 the farm was carrying approximately 100 cows and was being operated by Albert, Fritz and two workers. Unfortunately, a rift had developed between the three brothers and twice the cows were spirited from the farm in the dead of night, and sold. The farm survived the first of these incidents, and certainly the two brothers took out a mortgage in September 1916. The cows would have been in full milk production at that time of year, and very saleable. Presumably the second incident was too much to bounce back from. On 1 November 1916 the farm was leased out for 7 years. The second tenant, in 1919, was James McCool, an Ashhurst farmer. He bought the property in 1923. The McCool family still owns most of the farm and lives in the former Christiansen house.

Marie, by then known as 'Mary Margaret', died in Auckland on 23 April 1923, aged 79. The couple are buried together at Terrace End Cemetery. Their daughter, Dagne, married the Danish-born Arthur Edward Clausen, who, with his parents, had arrived on the *Terpsichore* in 1876. (see 'Skandia I': 33-4) Dagne died on 22 August 1914, six months before her father.

(Family Source: Heather Christiansen, Matua, Tauranga. Also ref: McLennan: 18-20; also the Certificates of Title for the four properties.)

Laurits Hans Gulbrandsen and ELLEN ANDREWA OLSEN

Laurits Hans Gulbrandsen was born at Holter, Odalen, Norway about 1841. He married Ellen Andrewa [or Ellen Andrea] Olsen, also Norwegian-born, in June 1868. Laurits (29), a workman, and Ellen (28) were recruited at Nes, Norway, and were accompanied to New Zealand by their son, Ole Genarius, who had been born 15 June 1869 at Christiania.

The family was allotted Section 353, Lot 7, 40 acres in the Karere Scandinavian Block.

[Establishment costs:- £13/8/8.5. Lot 7 payments:- £1£/- June 1873; £8/- June 1874; £8/- June 1875; £8/- May 1876]

Laurits was particularly active as a roading contractor. In 1874 he was paid 17/- for bush-clearing at Karere, and in 1875 he received £1/12/- per chain for work in Jackeytown Road. In 1877 he did road formation work in Karere Road at £1/7/9 per chain, with a further £12 per culvert. He got behind with this contract and was threatened with a penalty. Later that year his tender was accepted for clearing Maxwells Line. (M.H.B. Minutes 22/5/1874, 5/2/1875, 15/1/1877, 15/3/1877, 22/11/1877)

Ole Gulbrandsen was a first day pupil at Karere School which opened on 13 June 1877. (Longburn: 22) It is not known how many other children the couple had, although five Gulbrandsen children were registered at Palmerston North, at regular intervals, between 1878 and 1886. Their daughter, Matilda Elizabeth, was born 14 September 1882. Her birth certificate reveals that Laurits was unable to sign his name.

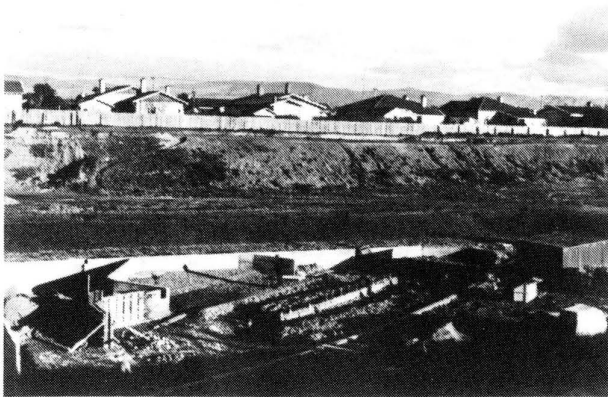
At some time between 1876 and 1878 Laurits sold the Awapuni farm and moved inside the town boundary, to a property subdivided out of Section 558. This had been Edwart Olsen's farm. (q.v.) Their portion is understood to have included the present-day site of Greenfingers Garden Centre, in what is now Pioneer Highway.

On 9 May 1879 Laurits narrowly escaped death in the Terrace End Gravel Pit - the present-day Memorial Park. He and his companions had just resumed filling railway wagons with metal, after their lunch break, when the top of the pit-face collapsed; those struck by the metal were Laurits, Hans Petersen, and a Mr Rowlands. Petersen was badly bruised and Rowlands received a serious leg injury. Laurits was struck from behind and crushed between the avalanche of metal and the ballast engine, which, in turn caused a "frightful gash" on his head. His skull was forced open by the pressure of the metal against his body - and his brain was seen to protrude! Immediately after he was extracted, the locomotive driver got up steam and raced up out of the pit to get medical assistance. Doctors' Akers and MacLachlan were quickly brought to the scene.

Laurits was almost unconscious, his body having been forced into an 'S' shape between the metal and the locomotive. Once freed, he was kept conscious by a "strong stimulant" and was taken to his home by train. There Doctor Akers sewed the wound and bandaged his head. Surprisingly, apart from a few bruises, he had no other injuries.

One can imagine the horror Ellen felt when her husband was brought home, as well as the lengthy, dangerous and extremely painful convalescence he faced. At that time antibiotics and painkillers were either non-existent, of limited benefit, or were addictive. Fortunately he and the other two injured men were to continue receiving their wages while they recovered. In Laurits' case he must have remained ill for some time and no doubt he carried reminders of his injuries for the rest of his life. (MT 10/5/1879, 14/5/1879)

In the 1895 'Stones Directory', Laurits was described as a plate-layer [on the railways] while Ole was a labourer. Laurits, described as aged "34," was naturalised on 14 September 1905. He would have in fact been about 64.



From Terrace End metal pit to Memorial Park. The stark, redundant pit where Laurits Gulbrandsen almost lost his life in 1879, bears little resemblance to the present-day park, with its children's playground, pool, skating area, cycling track, trees and duck ponds. This photo, taken in 1939 during construction of the park, faces Frederick Street. In the course of the work, the old railway line bed was converted into the access road. (Palmerston North Public Library)

Ellen Andrewa died 17 March 1913, aged 68; her address was 159 Main Street West. The 1917 Alien Register records 'Lowritz Gulleranson' (sic), aged 75, an old age pensioner of 173 Main Street West. Probably these were all the same house on Section 558. He died on 12 June 1919, aged 77, when living at 18 Main Street West. Ellen and Laurits are buried at Terrace End Cemetery.

Their son Ole Genarius Gulbrandsen, a machinist, was naturalised on 17 May 1938. His wife, Margaret Matilda 'Till', daughter of Enoch and Mary Charles (q.v.) was naturalised on 15 June 1938, despite having been born in Palmerston North. (misspellings: Lawritz, Lauritz, Lowritz)

TORKIL GUNDERSEN and KARI OLSDATTER

Torkil Gundersen (33), from Slettbakken, Norway, married Kari Olsdatter (28), at Ullern Church, Sor-Odal, Norway, on 3 October 1870, two days before they were to leave for New Zealand. Kari, whose name was pronounced 'car-ree', was the eldest sister of Annie Andersen, wife of Carl Andreas Anderson. (q.v.) Kari and Annie were the daughters of Ole Eriksen, a Stationmaster at Christiania in his day, and his wife Kari, nee Olsdatter. Kari [junior] had been born at Ostavik, Eidskog parish, Norway in 1843. Torkil was described as a tailor on the passenger list.

The couple were allotted Section 417, Lot 6, 48 acres on Napier Road, Stoney Creek, where they built a two-roomed cottage. (MT 3/1/1877) This almost certainly stood near the bridge adjoining the property, and appears to have still been there in the 1920s. (McLennan: 96)

[Establishment costs:- £13/9/11.5. Lot 6 payments:- £20/- May 1873; £10/- June 1874; £10/- June 1875; £8/- June 1876]

Torkil became Palmerston North's first tailor, appearing in that occupation in the 1872 'Wellington Almanack'. He was also clearing his farm and doing public works throughout that time. The couple were obviously kept very busy. They received title to the land in June 1876. Carl and Annie Anderson had taken over the neighbouring Lot 5, in 1871, which must have been a nice arrangement for both sisters at that time.

On 26 September 1876, both Lots 5 and 6 were sold to the local large-scale landowner, J.T. Dalrymple. This transaction obviously included an exchange for land in the Fitzherbert Block, which Dalrymple had purchased in

April that year. (WPGG 1876: 113) Between the two families they took over Dalrymple's interests in Sections 229, 230 and 231, totalling 249 acres, in the Staces Road area of what is now Aokautere. (MT 10/4/1878) The only access to this land was across the Manawatu River, and Carl Anderson regularly swam across it. The Manawatu Highways Board on 5 November 1877 discussed the specifications for works including a side-cutting from the Fitzherbert Bridge toward "Gundersens' and other's" properties. This resulted in the "skeleton" of a road being installed around that time. The Fitzherbert East Road was not connected to the Gorge road until 1913. (Fitzherbert: 12)

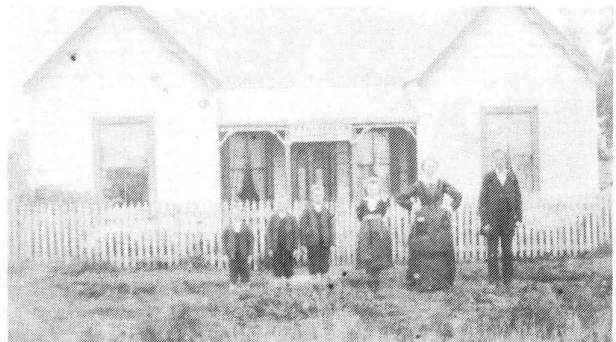
Much of the potential off-farm employment remained back across the river, although Gundersen, Anderson and others had pit-sawn timber for the Fitzherbert Bridge during its construction period. In 1878 'Gundersen & Co.' obtained a contract to form 31 chain of Andersen's Line [Roberts Line], at £1/9/5 per chain and £7/18/5 per culvert. Probably 'Gundersen & Co.' comprised a group of men co-operating together, rather than a 'Company'. (MHB Minutes: 1/2/1878, 22/3/1878, 21/6/1878, 19/7/1878)

While the two families lived at Aokautere, three year old Karen Anderson received fatal burns after a tree caught fire. Torkil discovered her in flames and severely burnt his hands while trying to save her. Unfortunately she died a few hours later. (MT 3/3/1877)

Apparently the Aokautere land was sold in late 1878 or early 1879 as the Gundersen family was living in Main Street by June 1879. They had purchased the adjoining Sections 613 and 615, on the south-west corner of the Main and Albert Street intersection. It was from this house that Torkil ran his tailoring business. He made uniforms for the Militia Volunteers, although he had trouble getting paid for some of these. In 1880 he had to take one H.J. Philpott to Court to get £2/4/- he was owed. Several months later he found himself in Court - as a witness. He had unwittingly purchased a stolen watch, and the local watchmaker recognised it when he took it in for repairs. The two thieves were then put on trial. (MT 4/6/1879, 1/10/1879, 21/2/1880, 19/5/1880)

The Gundersens also owned a four-roomed house on Section 622 in Ferguson Street, which they rented out. (MT 4/6/1879, 1/10/1879) That house was sold about 1881. They owned another house between 1879-82 which was on part-Section 946, in Church Street. One of these was rented to an S. Romberg, [Ronberg ?] whom they took to court in March 1880 seeking compensation for damage Romberg had inflicted on the house. (MT 27/3/1880) The Gundersens were by then quite comfortably off. Their home must have become a popular meeting place as Lutheran Church gatherings were held there. (MT 31/12/1879)

The family photo and the local birth registrations indicate that there were four Gundersen children. The latter



The Gundersen family proudly poses outside their home in Main Street, Palmerston North. The barely legible sign above the front door appears to read "Torkil Gundersen: Tailor & Habit Maker." The photo was probably taken around 1883, shortly before the family left Palmerston North. (The C.A. Anderson family album, at Palmerston North City Archives)

source reveals a daughter, Charl Olaff [1873], and three sons - Emile [1875]; Segrant Marius [1877] and Axel Sophus [1878]. 'A. Gundersen' [Charl ?] was in Standard I at Palmerston School in 1881, while in 1883 C. Gundersen was in Standard II and E. Gundersen was in Standard I. (MT 5/11/1881, 22/10/1883) Possibly the need for schooling had brought them back from Aokautere.



The Fitzherbert Bridge from the Aokautere side, which included the handiwork of a number of Scandinavians. Once the bridge was opened in 1877, pressure was placed on the Manawatu Highways Board to open a road to "Gundersens' and others'" properties at Aokautere. Until a road was created, the only access between Aokautere and Palmerston North was by boat across the sometimes dangerous river. This photo was taken in 1884. (Palmerston North Public Library)

The family owned their Main Street property until about 1883-1884, at which time their rates went into arrears. Certainly the Gundersens "commodious house" in Main Street, with one acre of land, was advertised for sale in July 1884. (MT 10/7/1884) J.E. Nathan, the well-known Wellington merchant and speculator, paid the rates on the property the following year.

The Gundersens left Palmerston North around 1884, bound for the United States. This was a time of economic difficulty in New Zealand, with many would-be settlers preferring to try their luck elsewhere. Nothing more is known of their time in New Zealand and there is no sign of any naturalisation.

Carl and Annie Anderson, and family, lived in California for three years. When their youngest daughter, Ethel, was baptised at Eureka on 10 May 1893, her Godmothers were Kari Gundersen and another Olsdatter sister, Oline Schulze. Presumably the Gundersen family also lived in the Humboldt County area of California, where there was a large Scandinavian population. The late Hector Anderson recalled his family receiving letters from a Gundersen family in America.

(Andersen/Gundersen family sources: Mrs J. Anderson, Waihi Beach; the late Hector Anderson, Dannevirke; France Tindall, Stokes Valley, Per Johansen, Oslo, Norway. Also see the C.A. Anderson family in 'Skandia I' and in this book)

GULBRAND HANSEN and THORA HANSDATTER

Gulbrand Hansen was born 6 April 1848, at Tovsetbraaten, in Ullern Parish, Sor-Odal, Norway, the son of Hans Gulbrandsen Tovsetbraaten and Anne, nee Pedersdatter. In October of 1869 or 1870, at Sor-Odal, he married Thora, daughter of Hans Sorensen Sondre Mellom and "Marie Nilsdotter, N Berger." Thora had been born at Sondre Mellom, Strom Parish, Sor-Odal, on 16 December 1847. When they sailed for New Zealand, both Gulbrand, described as a workman, and Thora were aged 22. [Note:

the names 'Torsetbraaten' and 'Sondre Mellom,' would indicate the farms where the families lived.]

The couple were allotted Section 351, Lot 13, being 40 acres in the Karere Scandinavian Block.

[Establishment costs:- £13/14/11.5. Lot 13 payments:- £16/- May 1873; £8/- June 1874; £16/- May 1875]

Gulbrand was soon employed making railway sleepers with his companions and, in the spring of 1871, he became the middle man in the attempt to prove favouritism against their overseer, Amos Burr. Gulbrand purchased 45 'reject' sleepers from the suspicious Johan Sissener (q.v.), then sold them on to their interpreter, Frederick Andersen, without mentioning their origin. Burr then unknowingly passed the rejected sleepers. (NA: IM 6/7/1)

The Hansen family remained at Lot 13 for about four years before moving to the heavily-wooded Rangitikei Line property where the family settled. For many years Gulbrand carried on an extensive firewood business there. He also continued to supplement the family income with contract work.

Wild pigs were an on-going problem for settlers, who did not have ideal fencing. For this reason, in 1878 Gulbrand advertised that all pigs found trespassing on his property would be destroyed. (MT 25/9/1878) No doubt such a valuable source of free meat would be appreciated by the growing family, should the owners fail to materialise.

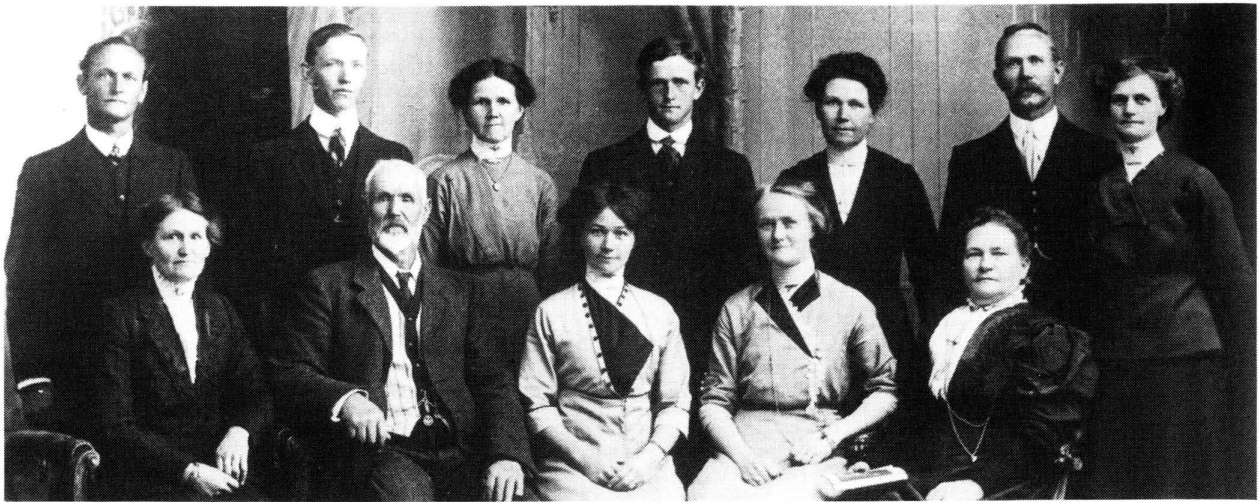
The new property was part of the 100 acre Section 547. Their shipmates, Bernt Johansen and family, were their neighbours on this subdivided section, which was on the eastern side of Rangitikei Line, between the Kairanga-Bunnythorpe Road and Flyers Line. By the time of the only Manawatu Road Board Rate Book, in 1889-90, the Hansens also owned part of Section 543, on the north-eastern corner of the Rangitikei Line - Kairanga-Bunnythorpe Road intersection.

Gulbrand had a long association with the Manawatu Highways [later 'Roads'] Board, both as a roading contractor and later as a maintenance man on the drainage network in his area. These activities provided an 'off-farm' cash income, at a time when the newly-established farm could not fully support the family. In 1875 he obtained a roading contract in Terrace End, working at £1/15/- per chain. (MHB Minutes: 5/2/1875) By September 1877 he was working on the railway lines at Awapuni. At that time he became a witness at the Coroner's Inquest onto the death of Sven Olsen, in a riding accident. (MT 19/9/1877)

The Manawatu Highways/Road Board Minutes between December 1878 and July 1885 were lost in a fire. Gulbrand reappears in September 1887, being appointed to keep the Bunnythorpe-Kairanga Drain, amongst others, in repair. Throughout 1888 Gulbrand had a series of problems with drains. Apparently someone was redirecting other drains 'upstream', into a drain which ran through his property. By May he was requesting that the portion opposite his house be cleaned out as it was giving trouble. He also complained that cattle straying on the road were damaging the drains he was contracted to clean. As a result these were clogging up faster than originally anticipated and extra work was



An unidentified family from the C.A. Anderson family album, who were almost certainly from Sor-Odal, Norway. (Palmerston North City Archives)



required. (M.R.B. Minutes: 12/9/1887, 13/2/1888, 14/5/1888, 24/9/1888, 8/10/1888)

In later years Gulbrand took an interest in the administrative end of the Manawatu Roads Board. He was unsuccessful in the election for a member of the Board for Ward 6 in 1897, but was uncontested for Ward 5 the following year (K.C.C. Advertisement Book 3/15/4, P.N. City Archives)

As the Rangitikei Line property was cleared Gulbrand turned to dairy farming. He became one of the largest suppliers of the Newbury Creamery. His obituary described him as "one of the best types of settler in every way, and his upright dealing in everything he did won him many friends in the Manawatu." (ES 30/7/1914) He was one of the first members of the Lodge Manawatu Kilwinning, and was also a "very old" member of the Court Manawatu A.O.F., which he had joined in 1884. He had been naturalised on 24 August 1885.

The 'Evening Standard' published an extensive interview with Gulbrand on 26 May 1911. In this he described the early years of settlement in the Manawatu and also the friendship between the settlers and the Maori in the early days. These are recounted in the chapter depicting early settlement. He also said that he had been the first person in the Manawatu [or Upper Manawatu] to own a spring cart - a recycled butcher's cart from Wellington which was to serve its purpose for many years.

The first of the Hansen children, Harry Maurice, was born at Palmerston on 5 October 1871, the second baby to be registered in the town's own Register of Births. Their other children were: Anna ['Hannah Matilda' 2/10/1873]; Hilders Jalmer 10/12/1875]; Hilda Ranedina ['Helder Randine' 17/12/1876]; Sina ['Sine' born at Taonui, the old name for Newbury, 22/10/1879]; Emma [4/7/1881]; Hildus Alfred 'Alfred' [11/11/1883]; Minnie [4/5/1885]; Nellie [20/7/1887]; David [13/8/1889] and Marshall Gilbert [13/3/1893].

Anna, the eldest daughter of the family, was pupil number 39 at Taonui School, which had opened in 1878. In 1905 the school's name was changed to 'Newbury', to avoid confusion with the other Taonui School. The School Log of 27 November 1885 recorded that Anna was attending school on a very irregular basis. That year she failed the tests for her Standard III year and had to repeat that class in 1886. She left school on 21 September 1886, having finally obtained her Standard III Certificate. Her 'destination' was "home work" which was a typical situation.

Gulbrand died on 30 July 1914 aged 66 years. Thora died on 7 September 1923, aged 75. They are buried together at Terrace End Cemetery.

The couple's youngest son, Marshall Gilbert, remained farming at Newbury, where he became prominent in the community and also in the Manawatu dairy industry. He

The Hansen family about 1911. From left (back row): Alf, David, Hilda [Ronberg], Marshall, Annie [Anderson], Harry, Sina [Winter]; (front row): Emma [Paul], Gulbrand, Minnie [Henderson/Mitchell], Nell [Howell], Thora. The eleventh child, Hilders Jalmer, died as a baby. (Jim Lundy, Pohangina)

was one of the original trustees of the Newbury Hall and was Hall Committee secretary for 30 years. He was also chairman of the Newbury School Committee for 7 years, and a member of the Kairanga County Council for 19 years, including 2 years as its chairman. In 1946 he became a Justice of the Peace. In 1950 he transferred from supplying milk to the dairy factory to supplying the town. He was soon elected to the Palmerston North Milk Board and became a director of the Manawatu Milk Producers' Corporation. He died in 1963. (ATL: N.Z. Biographies 1963, Vol. 4: 136) (Thora's name has been regularly spelt/mis-spelt as Thore or Tora).

(Family source: Jim Lundy, Pohangina; also: birth certificates of Emma & H.A. Hansen)

ANDERS HANS IHLE and MARTHA MARIE PEDERSDOTTER

(Originally pronounced 'E-ler', but now 'eye-le')

This family was covered in 'EARLY MANAWATU SCANDINAVIANS' (Skandia I), page 11-13. That article was drawn from diaries, letters and the memories of their granddaughter, Gladys Lazarus, who died in February 1991. The following is a supplement to the earlier work, to keep it compatible with the other stories.

The ever-mispronounced Ihle Street, at Terrace End, is named after this family, whose prominence was ensured by Anders Hans Ihle's many works as a contractor in Manawatu, Rangitikei and Wanganui - even if he doubted the virtues of this employment choice in later life. As a result of his efforts, they are also one of the best documented of these immigrant families. However it seems unlikely that they are a source of a letter attributed to them in recent years, which was published in Norway in 1871. Hans was two days short of five years old when it was written, while the little boy described had just learned to speak and would more likely have been about two years old.

Anders Hansen Ihle, the son of a tailor, was born on a farmlet at Storjebygd, Nord-Odal [North Odal], Norway, on 26 January 1833. The surname was originally Hansen, with the name 'Ihle' being derived from a farm where the family had lived. This is understood to have been "Cottage Iler," No. 107, Sagstrum [or Sagstren] school district, Sandsagr. The cottage was rented to others by 1865. The name "Iler" indicates that an underground spring was on the property.

Martha Marie Pedersdotter was born 26 July 1848, on the farmlet Norbyeie Ullensager, which is now a suburb of

Oslo. Her parents were Peder Jonassen, a labourer, and his wife Dorothy (nee) Pedersen. She and Anders were married in the Hovia annex of the Ullensager Church on 4 March 1865. Their first child, Hans Andersen Ihle, was born at Norbyeie Ullensager on 15 March 1866, while Dina Jorgine was born at Kjolstad, Sor-Odal, on 13 August 1869.

At the time the family was recruited, they were living in Ullern parish, Sor-Odal. Anders worked on the railway which was being laid through the district, an experience which stood Anders in good stead once he was in New Zealand. The Sor-Odal rail-link was completed in 1871. (Troseid: 169; Mac Larsen: 16)

On 1 February 1939 a Norwegian relative of the family, named Willi [surname unknown], wrote of the Ihle family's departure to New Zealand. His grandmother recalled Anders, who used to stay at their house when he was in Oslo. Anders bought and sold timber, and had met his business friends at a restaurant called 'Scandinavie,' which was still there in 1939. After they had made their appointments and had some drinks, Anders would walk back to Willi's grandparents' home, where he would pay his workers. *"Sometimes he had many drinks under his waist and my grandma and your grandma [Martha] tried to play a trick on him, when they helped him to count the money he should pay his hands, but he always discovered the trick."*

"He [Anders] would have (had) my grandpa with him to New Zealand, but grandpa (said to) him 'Do you think I am crazy,' and then they laughed. When they started for New Zealand, they (visited) grandpa to say goodbye...They had your father [their son Hans] with them...They had just enough time to drink a cup of coffee, and then they went. Grandmother threw '1 mark, 1 sk.' [\$1.10] to them and that was all their money for their trip."

Anders, described as a carpenter, appeared on the *Celaeno's* passenger list as aged 32 years. In fact he was 37. He was to proudly claim, when interviewed in 1912, that he had been the oldest of the group. Martha was 22 years old, while their children Hans and Dina G. were aged 4 years, 9 months and 1 year, respectively.

Clerks had a lot of trouble with the surname 'Ihle.' One entered his name as 'Jule' on the *Celaeno's* passenger list, while another managed to record him as 'Andreas Hansen jun' (junior?) when he was allotted Section 350, Lot 14, 40 acres in the Karere Scandinavian Block.

[Establishment costs:- £ (none given). Lot 14 payments:- £16/- May 1873; £8/- June 1874; £8/- May 1875; £8/- Dec. 1875. The lack of a charge for Establishment costs would be an error]

Anders described many of his activities in an interview published by the 'Evening Standard' on 2 April 1912. He and his companions split sleepers at first, and then began pitting timber to make tram rails. When the time came to lay the tramway, J.T. Stewart, the District Engineer, asked if any of them had experience with laying tramways. Anders said that he had worked on the railway in Norway, and thus he was appointed foreman of the construction of the Foxton-Palmerston tramway.

After the completion of this work, Anders obtained the contract for 2.25 miles of railway through Palmerston, replacing the flimsy wooden tramway with iron rails and ballasting suitable for locomotives. This was the 'Palmerston Flat Contract,' which was accepted by the Public Works Office on 25 September 1875, at a tender of £1,991/8/8. (WPG Gazette, 1875: 163) The Government was to find the rails and fastenings, while Anders was to get the sleepers, ballasting and labour. He finished his preparations; however low-water problems at Foxton caused shipping delays. As a result he did not make much from the contract.

"After all this I will take the credit to myself of having the first contract for railways in the Manawatu district, also of bringing the first railway engines to Palmerston North. The Government lent me the engine and I had to take it from Foxton to Palmerston on the wooden tram(line). Many rails broke and had to be replaced with new ones. Counting everything, it cost nearly as

much as it was worth. I had not used the engine very long before the inspector [Mr Patterson] condemned the wheels, as he said they were worn too much and would probably break the rails. I had to take the wheels out and send them to Dunedin for repairs. In the meantime they sent me another engine called the 'Wallaby.' The first engine's name was the 'Skunk.' Many people in Palmerston still remember this engine travelling from where the station is now, to Terrace End. My ballast pits were where the railway goods-shed now is [in 1912]." [Note:- The metal pit he used is now Memorial Park at Terrace End.]

It is ironic that Anders does not mention the odd-shaped, little 'Sparrow' locomotive, 'Palmerston,' which arrived at Ngawahakarau [near Opiki] in 1872 and which drove from there, up the wooden tramway to Palmerston, on 20 August 1872. In so doing it became the first locomotive into Palmerston, yet Anders, who was then in the district, does not apparently consider it as qualifying for the true honour.

The Ihle family claim that this first engine, popularly known as the 'Skunk,' was in fact named 'Skonk' after the sound it made. Presumably the more familiar name then evolved. Such a claim is more realistic than a group of Scandinavian and British people naming a New Zealand locomotive after what was then a scarcely-known American animal, or that the engine smelled particularly bad! The family say that 'Wallaby' was bestowed on the second locomotive because of its sound also. (ES 1964: 'Letter to Ed.,' debate between R.J. Currie and A.H.Ihle, held at P.N.City Archives - Ihle File)

The 'Skunk' was at Foxton by 2 August 1875, where it soon proved unable to pull on wooden lines. The conversion to iron rails had begun in early 1875 and by late October these were within nine miles of Palmerston. At this time the decision was made to bring the 'Skunk' up to Palmerston, to help Anders with his contract. Thus the little locomotive reached the town on 23 October 1875, no doubt driven by Martin Boesen, and damaging many wooden rails on the way. It arrived to "much fanfare and jubilation," and was then officially christened with its rather uncomplimentary name.

The 'Skunk' made its trial run over the Palmerston-Foxton route in April 1876, with the view to beginning a regular service between the towns on May 1st. However the two Mills locomotives had insufficient power for the task, and on 10 July the first of the much larger 'F' class locomotives arrived. Three days previously, one of the Mills locomotives had taken a special train through to Feilding, to mark the opening of that line. (Cassells, 1984: 43-6, 50, 53)



The couple in this photograph, taken by Tyree & Huff in the summer of 1878-9, are almost certainly a youthful Anders Hans Ihle and his wife, Martha. It was one of three photos of the same couple, found in the album of shipmates, the Anderson family. The baby would be Inga. (C.A. Anderson Album, Palmerston North City Archives)

Anders' railway contract was followed by the £7,000 Fitzherbert Bridge contract, which included three Scandinavian companions. Certainly the Swede, Enoch F. Charles (q.v.), worked on the bridge, while Johan Andreassen (q.v.) was probably there also.

The timber was obtained from a stand of totara in the Aokautere area, about 3 miles upstream from the bridge.



Anders Hans Ihle poses proudly at the centre of his newly-completed contract, the first Fitzherbert Bridge, in August 1877. His contract, completed six months ahead of schedule, had not included the approaches, which were completed in early 1878. This bridge was replaced in 1935 with the well-known arched structure, which in turn was replaced in 1987. (Palmerston North Public Library)

There it was pit-sawn and milled, before being rafted downstream to the bridge. (ES 12/11/1936) This was where Carl A. Andersen and his brother-in-law Torkil Gundersen (q.v.) were "sawmilling" at that time. A contractor named Schultz was amongst those supplying timber for the bridge. He was struck by a branch from a fallen tree and possibly lost an eye. (MT 20/1/1877)

The bridge, constructed on the "Howe Truss" principle, consisted of seven truss spans, each 85 feet (25.9 metres) in length. These were supported on eight sets of timber piles, and joined to the bank by 210 feet (64 metres) of approach spans. The total length of the structure was 805 feet (251 metres). The work was expected to take about two years, but took 18 months, being completed by August 1877. (Croad and Doreen: 3-7; ES 12/11/1936)

Anders told an 'Evening Standard' reporter in 1912 that, *"I have built about 60 bridges altogether since I came here, and a good deal of river protection work in the Oroua, Manawatu and Rangitikei Rivers. Of the bridges I will name some of the largest:- Fitzherbert Bridge, over the Manawatu River; one over the Rangitikei River at Bulls; another at Tokomaru; one over the Mangatainoka River; one at Awapuni Lake; five bridges over the Wanganui; four railway bridges between Palmerston North and Ashhurst; one over the Kahuterawa river [stream], Fitzherbert West; and one over the Tiritea [now Turitea]."* (ES 2/4/1912)

Descendants also understand that he worked on the Turitea Reservoir and the Manawatu Gorge Road and/or bridge.

Anders went on to explain his regret, in the long run, at having stayed with contracting: "Those that stuck to their land have done much better."

It is obvious that Anders enjoyed a drink or two and that he shared this pleasure with many of his countrymen, including his good friend Martin Boesen. Their paths cross frequently. There was little alternative entertainment in the town for these hard-working men. Their equally hard-working wives must have felt envious of their freedoms! The two men were together at Boesen's home, along with a young Swede named Sven Olsen, on 13 September 1877. After the three had drunk three-quarters of a bottle of brandy between them, Olsen headed for town to buy more, while Anders headed for home. In the course of Olsen's journey, he fell from his horse and drowned in a puddle. The events of the day were recorded at the inquest into his death. (MT 19/9/1877)

Anders made two appearances in Court on 18 April 1878, the first as a witness to a fight and the second as a participant. He recalled clearly what had happened on the first occasion "for I was sober." The second incident, with Johan Andreassen, a former shipmate, and a fellow contrac-

tor, was rather more clouded. On April 12th, the local constable, who was about 100 yards away, had watched Anders and Johan come out of the Royal Hotel. After talking for a few minutes, Anders had been knocked down a couple of times and kicked, but finally broke clear and began walking home - minus his hat. Johan went back into the hotel.

Despite what the constable and another had seen, the two defendants argued that no such thing had happened. They had been drinking together, and had been trying to "put one another down by wrestling. There was no quarrell!" Anders said he had no bruises or marks and that he was unaware of having been kicked. "The reason I made for home was because I was as tight as I could get, and there was no use stopping any longer in town."

He said that he had had over 20 drinks, which was his capacity. [!] Despite their claims to the contrary, Johan was convicted and fined £1, while Anders found himself fined a "soft" 5 shillings for having admitted being drunk and disorderly. (MT 20/4/1878)

The 'Manawatu Times' of 17 January 1880 reported that "John" Ihle had taken Archibald Dykes, of the notorious Palmerston Hotel, to Court seeking £19/10/-.

In April 1880 the family had both the original farm and also land in the Aokautere area. They misplaced a horse from the Awapuni farm some months later. (MT 4/8/1880) Hunters apparently found the Aokautere property inviting, as Anders felt obliged to threaten anyone hunting on his land with prosecution. He described the land as being opposite the "old landing place," which was at the original end of Fitzroy Street [prior to erosion]. Thus this land was in the vicinity of Pinfold Road. The problem did not apparently diminish as in August 1881 he advertised his intention to destroy all stray pigs, fowl and other stock trespassing on "Sections 127 and 128," known as the "old landing place." (MT 10/4/1880, 10/8/1881) Possibly this should have been Fitzherbert Sections 227 and 228, as the alternatives are land-locked.

On 16 July 1881 the 'Manawatu Times' advised that Anders was to start cutting firewood at Hokowhitu. A mill, engine and the necessary appliances were to be obtained. The same day tenders were called to cut 20 cords of firewood. Applicants were to contact either Richter, Nannestad & Co. or Anders Ihle. This seems to be the time of the Ihle family's shift from Awapuni to Palmerston. It also indicates the involvement between that sawmilling company and Anders. Probably he was clearing trees left by Richter, Nannestad & Co. who were working the block.

In September 1881 Joseph Sutcliff Foulds, of Fitzherbert, who was to begin working for Anders the next morning, was drowned in the Manawatu River. Martin Boesen was to bring him over the river; however because of a 15 minute delay [due to taking someone else over first] Foulds got impatient. He had not known how to handle the canoe he decided to borrow, nor could he swim. One of the Ihle girls saw him being swept out of control down the river and it was several weeks before his body was found. (MT 1/10/1881)

By December 1881 Anders was digging a well at Hokowhitu, when he found a large green rata stump some distance under the ground. This was deemed newsworthy. He had been contracted to build new fences for the Palmerston North Borough Council but, proving things never change, he also had to contend with vandals pulling off the new palings. By January 1883, the Hokowhitu Firewood Mill had been taken over by E.A. Laurvig & Co. (q.v.), a Norwegian-born *Hovding* passenger formerly of Norsewood - and from the same part of Norway as the Ihles. (MT 3/12/1881, 7/12/1881, 2/1/1883)

In 1882 the family was living in Lombard Street and by the early 1890s they had properties adjoining the Ferguson Street - Botanical Road intersection. One of these probably included the family home. During 1893-4 most of these

sections were transferred to Henry Carlson, a prominent Swedish sawmiller from Dannevirke.

Anders was still working as a contractor when he was declared bankrupt on 15 October 1894. That year Martha was listed as the ratepayer for Sections 52, 78 and 79 of the Hokowhitu Block, comprising about 12 acres between Park Road [then Avenue Road] and Te Awe Awe Street. They were then living in Avenue Road, and were still there when Anders was naturalised, aged 74, on 5 October 1907. Soon after that, they moved to their last home together in Cook Street [pt. Sec. 1006], about opposite Joseph Street.

Martha died at 7 Cook Street, on 2 September 1917, aged 69 and at Easter 1918, Anders moved to his youngest daughter's home in Campbell Street. He died there nine months after his wife, on 20 May 1918, aged 85. The couple are buried together at Terrace End Cemetery.

Anders and Martha had eleven children, ten of whom survived them: the two born in Norway and a further seven girls and two boys born at Palmerston North. These were Marie [30/6/1872], Hilda [9/9/1875], Inga [23/4/1878], Adolph [20/8/1880], Fritjof [5/12/1882-7/3/1883], Anne Lydia [25/4/1884], May Josephine [29/5/1887], Cicilea Minnie, called 'Minnie' [21/11/1889] and Olivia Tereca, called 'Olive' [27/12/1893].

The couple's oldest son, Hans, was employed at Palmerston North in the course of his working life, by G.A. Gamman & Co. and also the Tiratu Sawmilling Company. These important companies had their sawmilling operations in the Southern Hawkes Bay, but also had timber yards in Palmerston North. In 1895 he was a carter, of Ferguson Street. ('Stone's Directory') Hans was naturalised on 17 July 1925, described as a foreman. He died in 1938, survived by two sons and a daughter. (ES 12/1/1938)

(Family Source:- Joan Barnes, Palmerston North. Other sources include:- ATL: General Coll. 119 - 'Translation of Notes written in the Ihle Family Bible,' supplied by Ian Matheson, 11/7/1975.)

BERNT JOHANNESSEN and ELISABET ENGBRETSDATTER (Later Anglicised to 'Johansen')

Bernt Johannesen (27) was born in 1844 at Vormnes, Norway. On 3 October 1870 - two days prior to sailing - he married Elisabet Engebretsdatter (27), at Nes Church. She had been born in 1844 at Nordli, Sor-Odal. At their farewell the next day, the minister of Nes parish gave Bernt a hymn book. Bernt was described on the passenger list as a workman.

They had been engaged for some time, but, as was the custom, could not marry until the husband had somewhere to take his bride. They were not the only newlyweds aboard whose first child appeared fairly quickly, their son Johan, being born at sea on 26 November 1870, a month after they sailed.

The Johannesen family were allotted Section 352, Lot 10, consisting of 40 acres in the Karere Scandinavian Block. They also purchased Lot 11, formerly held by Carl Andreas Anderson (q.v.).

[Establishment costs:- £13/13/5.5. Lot 10 & 11 payments:- £32/- May 1873; £16/- June 1874; £32/- June 1875]

The couple built a slab shelter on what they soon realised was an extremely flood-prone block of land. Disillusioned, Bernt wrote to C.J. Toxward, the future Danish Consul, on 30 September 1871, seeking his help. Bernt wanted Martin Boesen's (q.v.) Stoney Creek land, as the latter was thought to have left the area permanently. *"The reason why I wish to exchange is that my section [Lot 10] is constantly flooded and I do not understand what use I can make of it. I have cleared a large portion of the bush and I am only wasting my time and labour on this piece of land to no purpose. (I) have determined not to waste any more time or labour until I get a better piece of land."*

Toxward translated the letter and forwarded it to O. Knowles, the Undersecretary of the Public Works Department.

Bernt was advised that he needed a letter from Boesen relinquishing the land. But before anything could be done, Boesen returned, saying he wished to keep it. Even so, Boesen's land was transferred to the Johannesens neighbour, C.A. Andersen, later in 1871. At that time Bernt took over Andersen's unwanted Lot 11, at Awapuni, no doubt hoping this would help his situation. (NA: IM 6/7/1)

Bernt and his companions were at first put to work cutting sleepers for the new tramway. He received a cheque for £4/3/3, dated 11 May 1871, which he lost on paynight at the Palmerston Hotel. His companion, Peter Reinersen (q.v.), suffered the same fate, although unlike Reinersen, Bernt was eventually able to stop his cheque and get a replacement. (NA: IM 6/7/1)

There were many teething troubles as the Scandinavian workmen settled in. Their overseer, Amos Burr, came in for special dislike by some of the group. Bernt wrote to the Public Works Department on 15 October 1871, complaining that they were being deprived of work, while English workmen were making the road in front of the Norwegians' homes. Also a particularly good quality piece of bush had been 'given' to Frederick Andersen, the former [and by now rather disliked] interpreter from the *Celaeno*. In addition, Burr had given a contract to a stranger who had shown up. "How will we be able to pay for our land at this state of things?" he demanded to know. He was not to know that the following year, the 'stranger,' a young man named Frits Jenssen, would become the co-founder of the large sawmilling and flourmilling firm, Richter, Nannestad & Co. - and that this company would become the major employer in the town for some years. (NA: IM 6/7/1)

Bernt's christian name was accorded many spellings, including 'Berent,' 'Berant' and 'Bendt.' 'Bernt' was his baptismal name at Nes Church. As 'Bendt Johansen,' he was naturalised on 2 March 1875, aged 31 years and described as a settler of Karere. He was one of the earliest to take this step.

In 1876 "Johansen, Reinnersen & Co." successfully tendered for work on Stoney Creek Road - which may have meant Napier Road. At this time "B. Johansen of Karere" was described as a contractor.

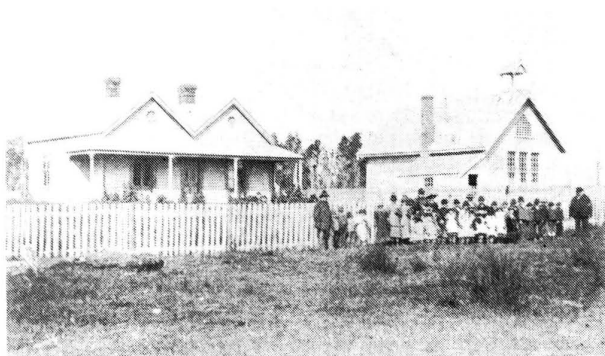
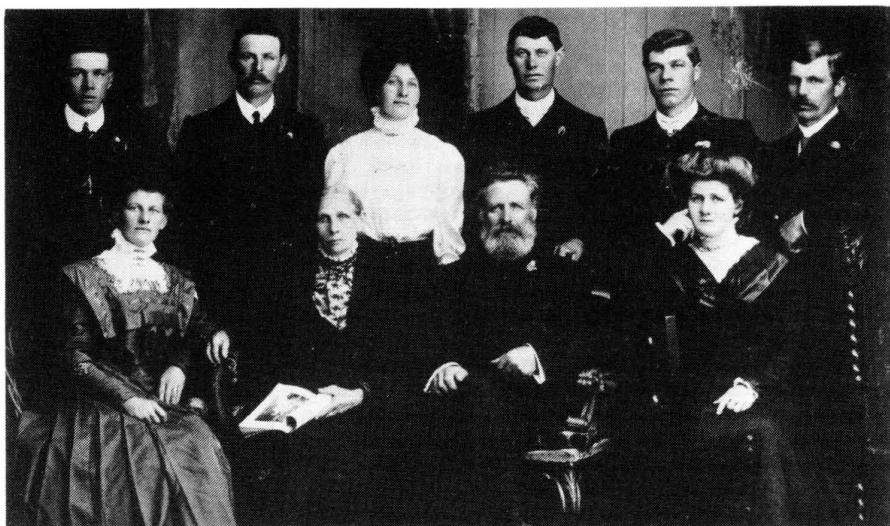
The Karere farm remained subject to continuous flooding, despite their perseverance. They again approached the authorities and were finally allotted another 40 acre property at Newbury, which was then known as Taonui. The family had moved to this property by 1880, only to encounter another problem - wandering pigs. Bernt retaliated by advertising bluntly in the 'Manawatu Times' that any pigs trespassing on his property would be shot! (MT 4/8/1880)

This new land was part of the 100 acre Section 547, on the eastern side of Rangitikei Line, between Kairanga-Bunnythorpe Road and Flyers Line. The growing family at first lived in a log cabin on the property, but over the years built two new houses. Their neighbours on this subdivided section were their shipmates, the Hansen family (q.v.), who had probably been transferred under the same circumstances. The Hansens were at this property by October 1879.

The couple had a further nine children in New Zealand, totalling six boys and four girls. These included Embret [19/7/1872], Mary [17/8/1874, died as infant], Laurenz, later called Laurence [25/7/1876], Anne [27/8/1878], Ole [4/6/1881, died as infant], Ole II [11/9/1883], Mary II [24/10/1885], Arthur [29/11/1887] and Clara [4/11/1889]. Clara later married Alfred Hansen, son of their neighbours, Gulbrand and Thora Hansen.

The children attended Taonui/Newbury School, and the school's Log Book recorded on 21 April 1880 that Doctor Marriner had advised the teacher that, as the Johansen children had 'Scarletina' [Scarlet Fever], they could not

The Johansen family about 1900. From left (standing):- Arthur, Embret, Mary, Lance, Ole and Johan. Seated are:- Annie, Elisabet, Bernt and Clara. (Val Ready)



Newbury School, then called Taonui School, in 1881, three years after it opened. Amongst the children pictured would have been members of the Hansen and Johansen families. (Palmerston North Public Library)

attend school for two weeks, for fear of spreading it. (Newbury: 27)

The 'Levin Chronicle' of 14 June 1968 recorded that "to get necessary supplies Elizabeth (sic) had to walk to Palmerston North, carrying any child too young to walk and on the return journey, also carry the supplies. In winter the trip was in ankle-deep mud and on arrival she had to wash herself and the children before she could go to the shop."

Following the death of their fellow passenger Marie Christensen, in 1885, the Johansen family took in her seven year old son, Emmanuel Arnte 'Snowy' Christensen, to relieve pressure on his father. Snowy grew up with the Johansen family.

In 1903 'B. Johansen & Son' advertised that they had started business in Main Street East as wood and coal merchants. They offered a large stock of dry matai, maire, rata, tawa and root wood, as well as 'screened' Coalbrookdale coal, Brunner nuts and coke. Their phone number was '219.' (ES 11/5/1903)

Bernt died on 10 September 1924, aged 80, described as a farmer of Rangitikei Line. Elisabet Johansen died on 13 July 1928, aged 84, at Clara Hansen's home at Te Rehunga, near Dannevirke. They are buried together at Terrace End Cemetery. The names of their two dead infants, Mary and Ole, were later added to the headstone.

The children scattered when they grew up, with three sons eventually settling in the Springdale-Tahuna area. The Johansen descendants held a family reunion at Springdale on 1 June 1968, which was attended by almost 200 people. Then on 5 June 1971, 190 attended a second reunion, to celebrate the centennial of their forebears'



The old Johansen house on Rangitikei Line, Palmerston North, in 1971. On the verandah is Jane Greni, Bernt's great-niece who travelled out from Norway, to attend the family reunion held that year. The house is still standing. (Val Ready)

arrival. The youngest daughter, Clara Hansen of Dannevirke, attended both reunions, while the third daughter, Mary Osborne of Taupiri, was still alive, but ailing, at the time of the first reunion. Mary died in 1969, and Clara in January 1980. The family still has a black jacket, skirt, shawl and bonnet, and a white lace cap, which Elizabeth used to wear and these were very proudly modelled at the reunions. Other reunions have been held at various venues, at five-yearly intervals, ever since.

(Family source:- Val Ready, nee Johansen, Mt. Maunganui. Also:- McLennan: 51; ATL: 'NZ Biographies,' 1971, Vol. 2: 135; Vol. 3, 121; Vol. 4: 87; Manawatu Road Board Rate Book 1989-90. Christensen family source: Val Burr, Palmerston North.

NOTE: Ole I's birth certificate [1881] gives his parents' date of marriage as 3/10/1869)

ARNE ARNESEN KJOLSTAD and KAREN GULBRANDSDATTER

Arne Arnesen Kjolstad (29), a cattle driver and tender, and his wife Karen (28) emigrated from Nes, Norway. They were accompanied by their daughters Kaja G. (8) and Anna O. (5).

In Norway, Arne was known simply as Arne Arnesen, a name he occasionally used in New Zealand. 'Kjolstad' no doubt derives from his birthplace. Clerks of the day had

problems with his changes of name - his 'establishment costs' were at first mistakenly charged to Annie Andersen, wife of Carl Andreas Andersen.

On 22 February 1871, eight days after their arrival in the Manawatu, Karen gave birth to her third known child, "Netta Amelia Arnesen." Karen had been one of two women in the group who were soon to give birth, and it had been arranged for them both to stay at Foxton until the babies were born. A third woman remained as an assistant. The birth was registered by Andrew Jonson, a Swedish carpenter with whom they were staying.

The family was allotted Section 355, Lot 4, being 38 acres in the Karere Scandinavian Block.

[Establishment costs:- £13/12/5.5. Lot 4 payment:- £8/- May 1873; £8/- June 1873; £8/- June 1874; £8/- June 1875; £6/9 May 1876]

Arne successfully tendered to clear and fell 125 chains of bush on the road line between Palmerston and Bunnythorpe at £1/5/6 per chain. (WPGG, 1875: 167.) He was unsuccessful with other road work in the Bunnythorpe and Feilding areas in 1876. An 'A. Arnesen' appears occasionally putting in tenders in competition with Kjolstad. Possibly this is Arne doubling his chances or options. Arne was not naturalised under either name and nothing more is known about the family, except that no doubt Marie Christine Kjolstad, born at Palmerston in late 1874, was their daughter. The family may have re-emigrated or Anglicised their surname.

EDWART OLSEN and BERTHA JOHANNESSON

Edwart Olsen was born at Prestegardseie, Norway, in 1844 [or 1848]. He married the Norwegian-born Berthea Johannesson, [born 1842 or 1840], on 16 July 1869, according to their daughter Sina Louise's birth certificate. However, according to Sten Aminoff's research, Edwart was a Swede and the couple married in Norway, on 1 June 1867. Edwart (26), a 'common workman' and Berthea (28) later called 'Bertha', emigrated from Nes, Norway, accompanied by their infant son Carl B. Possibly their ages at that time were 'adjusted' slightly, as Sina's birth certificate indicates an 8-year age discrepancy.

They were allotted Section 558, Lot 19, 40 acres in the Karere Scandinavian Block. More correctly this was inside the Palmerston town boundary. It covered a large part of what is now Awapuni suburb, including the Cardiff Street area.

[Establishment costs:- £13/12/5.5. Lot 19 payments:- £16/- May 1873; £8/- June 1874; £8/- June 1875; £8/- April 1876]

Their family size is unknown, but Aminoff states that they had a child at Palmerston on 9 February 1874, while Sina Louise was born 31 May 1881. One child survived Berthea.

Edwart paid rates to Palmerston North Borough Council on Part Section 558, including a house, between 1878 and 1888. At some point he subdivided it and the L. Gulbrandsen and E.F. Charles families were amongst those who lived there. In about 1888 he purchased two sections on the west side of Albert Street, between Grey and Featherston Streets (Sec. 191, All. 29 & Sec. 192 All. 61). Possibly he worked for Richter, Nannestad & Co. He disappears from the Rate books in 1891.

Bertha is probably 'Berte Olsen', of Palmerston North, who died on 18 August 1890, aged 49, and who is buried at Terrace End Cemetery. Edwart apparently sold the family home at this time, although the 1895 Stones Directory still records him as a labourer of Albert Street. He does not appear to have been naturalised. Nothing more is known of the family. (Aminoff. No. 2356)

JORGEN PEDERSEN and ANNE ANDERSDOTTER

The Norwegian-born Jorgen Pedersen (27) was described as a 'forman' (sic) on the steamer *North Star*'s passenger list, prior to boarding the *Celaeno*. Annie Andersdotter Lockerz was born in Sweden in 1833, no doubt at Lockerz. She was described on the *North Star*, as aged 29, and as being 33 on the *Celaeno*. In fact she was about 37. They were accompanied by their 5 year old daughter, Albertha, and their 1 year old son, Bernt.

They were allotted Section 350, Lot 15, the large 59 acre property in the Karere Scandinavian Block.

[Establishment costs:- £13/12/1. Lot 15 payments:- £23/16 Sept. 1873; £11/18 June 1874; £11/18 June 1875; £11/18 May 1876]

The Pedersens were one of the families who got on with life without making much impact on the [surviving] local public records. Jorgen 'Petersen' was naturalised on 13 October 1893. He was then a farmer of Karere. It is not known how many more children the couple had; however on 6 September 1872 they had another daughter, Pauline Jorgine.

Jorgen died on 3 June 1904, aged 61, while Annie died on 3 August 1916, aged 83, at Palmerston North. She was survived by two children and had then been living at 29 Princess Street.

In 1917 the couple's son, Bernt Pedersen (47), was unmarried and living by independent means at 173 Main Street, Palmerston North. For most of his life Bernt was a farmer and his obituary noted that he had always kept good health. He died on 31 August 1946, aged 77, described as a farmer of 10 Wellesbourne Street, Palmerston North. He is buried with his mother at Terrace End Cemetery. He was survived by a nephew, Mr A. Pedersen, who in 1946 lived at Island Bay, Wellington. (ES 2/9/1946; Aminoff, No. 2559)

NEILS PEDERSEN and BERTHA ANDREWA OLSDATTER

Nils [later Neils] Pedersen was born 18 March 1850, near a lake called "Flasjoen," at Skarnes, Norway. His parents were Peder Nilsen (born 1817, Ullermo) and Ingar, nee Nilsdatter (born 1822, Flaen). He was one of seven children and had lived at Saterflaen as a child. Bertha Andrea [or Andrewa] Olsdatter was born on 3 October 1848 in a small place called Delbekk, near Disena, Norway, to Ole Nilsen and his wife Eli, nee Olsdatter.

The couple were married on 3 October 1870, at Ullern Church, Sor-Odal, two days before departing for New Zealand. This was Bertha's 22nd birthday. Neils (20) was described as a workman on the *Celaeno*'s passenger list.

The Pedersens took up the 40 acre Section 354, Lot 6, at Awapuni. Then Neils began preparing timber for the Foxton-Palmerston tramway.

[Establishment costs:- £13/14/8.5. Lot 6 payments:- £16/- May 1873; £8/- June 1874; £8/- June 1875; £8/- May 1876]

In the late 1870s Neils purchased the neighbouring 40 acre farm, Lot 7 from the Gulbrandsen family (q.v.), who moved closer to Palmerston North.

Neils and Bertha had 9 children. Their first, Ole Peton ['Pete'], born 10 August 1871, was the first baby entered in Palmerston North's Register of Births. His entry, dated 9 October 1871, was conveyed on the couple's behalf by interpreter, Frederick Andersen (q.v.). The register was kept by local storekeeper, George Snelson. Ole Peton was said to be the first white boy born in Palmerston, although this is a less certain claim. Other non-Scandinavian settlers' wives had given birth in the district prior to that time, while Alexander Bergersen had been born in or near the town in May 1871.

The remaining children were Josephine [13/6/1873], Emma Randine [19/12/1874], Martin 'Mick' [11/4/1876], Albert Frederick [10/9/1877], Idda 'Edie' Karoline [5/12/1879], Mina 'Minnie' Elizabeth [15/12/1881], Sara Aneta 'Sarah Annetta' [29/8/1883] and William Alfred 'Willie' [3/6/1885]. Unlike so many other families of their day, all known children of the couple grew to maturity.

Neils was a very successful farmer and also prominent in the community, including being on the first Karere School Committee. 'Peton' Pederson had been a first day pupil at Karere School when it opened on 13 June 1877 - in the front room of the teacher's residence. Neils was a member of the Masonic Lodge in Palmerston North. Unlike most of the Scandinavian settlers, there is no obvious record of Neils having been naturalised.

The curse of wandering pigs also afflicted the Pedersen property, and in 1879 Neils wrote to the 'Manawatu Times' demanding to know "whose duty it is to protect the County Road at Awapuni? My reason in asking is that native pigs are fast destroying the road and drains. Last Summer money was expended to clear the side drains; now the same are being destroyed by pigs. Is this what we pay our rates for?" (MT 27/8/1879)

Possibly the "native" pigs were associated with the nearby Awapuni Maori village.

On 31 January 1900 the 743 acre farm 'Te Matai' was sold by Arthur E. Russell (See R. Bochnig and N.C. Hansen). Neils purchased parts of Sections 398-406 at that time, totalling 250 acres. These were between Te Matai Road and Napier Road, at the western end of that block. (C of T: 12/4/1900) In 1907 the farm had an unimproved value of £7,500, improvements valued at £1,368, and a capital value of £8,868. He then purchased a further 2 acres in Te Matai Road [Pt. Sec. 396, value in 1907 £64], which was sold to the Swedish-born E.A. Uhrbom in 1912.



Nils and Bertha Pedersen and family in the early 1890s. From left to right, they are:- (back row) Edie, Albert, Josephine and Martin; (centre row) Pete, Bertha, Nils, Emma and Billy; (front row) Sarah and Minnie. (Palmerston North Public Library)

The Pedersens made a good choice when they decided to emigrate to New Zealand, although neither enjoyed a 'ripe old age.' They were still living at the Awapuni farm when 52 year old Bertha died on 8 July 1900 after an illness which had lasted some months. In 1904 Neils moved to the Stoney Creek property, where he built a two-storied house. He was joined there by his son Albert and daughter-in-law, Nellie.

On 20 March 1910, after spending the day with the Dahlstrom family of Roberts Line [Skandia I: 23], Neils (60) collapsed in his cowshed with a heart condition, after milking his two cows. The next day Albert, who had been away overnight, found Neils' body still lying there. Neils and Bertha are buried together at Terrace End Cemetery.

Neils' obituary said that he still had the land on Foxton Line, although his descendants understand this was sold

in 1904. He had also owned farms in Shannon and Bunnythorpe. These farms had all grown into valuable properties.

The Whakarongo farm was transferred, in portions, to Albert, Sarah [Puklowski] and Minnie [Littlejohn]. The Puklowski family remained for many years. Their portion became a 50 acre dairy farm in Te Matai Road. The Littlejohn family returned to Auckland in 1920, where they had been sharemilking prior to Neils' death. Minnie's husband, William, unfortunately died six weeks later. Albert and his family also sold their portion fairly quickly. They later lived in Auckland.

(Family sources: *Graham and Lesley Barrow, Palmerston North. Also the family publication 'Family Record of the Descendants of Nils and Bertha Pedersen, - Family Reunion 1981'; McLennan: 20.)*

PETER HAGISBERT REINERSEN and MARIE HANS DATTER

Peter Hagisbert Reinersen (26) was described as a 'common workman' on the *Celaeno's* passenger list. He and Marie (32) had emigrated from Nes, Norway. They were allotted Section 352, Lot 9, comprising 40 acres in the Karere Scandinavian Block, although their shipmate, N.J. Berquist, owned it by 1873. The Mangaone Stream would have cut through the length of Lot 9, while its junction with the Kawau Stream appears to have been on the property also. This would have been very floodprone land and obviously they soon moved to Stoney Creek, although it has not been possible to find much about them.

[Establishment costs:- £13/12/2.5. Lot 9 payments:- nil]

One of the few references to the couple was when Peter and Berent Johannsen lost their pay cheques at the Palmerston Hotel one paynight. Each cheque was for £4/3/3, and was dated 11 May 1871. Despite efforts to stop the cheques, Peter's was finally cashed on August 29th, by 'N. Smith'. It had been endorsed by three different people by that time. (NA: IM 6/7/1)

By April 1873 Peter had paid two £8 installments apparently onto a 'deferred payment' property somewhere around Palmerston. Neither payment appears in the Wellington Provincial Government Gazettes as an 'original title holder'. After this time the only known records of the Reinersens are in the Minutes of the Manawatu Highways Board. In early 1875, Peter unsuccessfully tendered, with 'Thompson' [H.C. Thomsen?], for work clearing one of the three road lines in the Scandinavian Block, between Napier Road and the railway line. Probably this was James Line. (MHB 8/1/1875, 5/2/1875)

In 1876 Peter supported an earlier petition by settlers, requesting that "something be done" during the summer months, to "Stoney Creek Road" on which he lived. This could mean either present-day Stoney Creek Road, or present-day Napier Road, as both were referred to as 'Stoney Creek Road' from time to time. Roads had a tendency to deteriorate dramatically during the winter and attention was always required. In January 1877 the tender of 'Johannsen, Reinersen & Co.' was accepted for the formation of, and culverts on Stoney Creek Road, at £1/4/- per chain and £4 each per culvert. The following May, Peter was granted permission to fall the road line adjoining his property at Stoney Creek, at £2 per acre. He also received a payment of £55/10/-, probably for the earlier tender. Apparently nothing significant was done to Stoney Creek Road, as in October 1877, after yet another winter in the mud, Peter wrote to the Board complaining about the state of the road leading to his property. The matter was to receive attention without [further!] delay. (MHB 7/11/1876, 12/12/1876, 15/1/1877, 18/5/1877, 8/10/1877)

There is no sign of a naturalisation record or a 1917 Alien Registration for the Reinersens and there were no Reinersen children born between 1871 and 1880. Similarly there are no deaths to 1885. Nothing more is known of

them. They may have left New Zealand. (misspellings: Reinnersen, Reinnersen)

BERGER SORENSSEN and KAREN HALVORSDATTER

Berger Sorensen (26) was born at Konsvinger, Odalen, Norway, in about 1844, while Karen (24) was born at Nes, Norway, about 1846. The couple married at Christiania in June 1869. They emigrated from Nes with their son Ole Sigvart, 15 months, with Berger being described as a workman on the passenger list.

The family was allotted Section 354, Lot 5 of the Karere Scandinavian Block, at Awapuni.

[Establishment costs:- £13/17/0.5. Lot 5 payments:- £16/- May 1873; £8/- June 1874; £8/- June 1875; £8/- May 1876]

The couple's second child, Halvor, was born 1 November 1871. His was the third birth to be registered at Palmerston. Their third child, Emma, was born 18 October 1873. 'Sigvart' [Ole Sigvart] and Halvor, were first day pupils at Karere School when it opened on 13 June 1877.

Berger was naturalised on 2 March 1875, aged 31, one of the earliest of the group to do so. His off-farm employment included a contract of £19/9/6 to build the approaches to the Jackeytown Road Bridge. (M.H.B. 25/4/1876)

Berger and Karen Sorensen seem to have gone quietly about their lives and to have left few public records. However the aged Berger was interviewed by the Norwegian writer Orjan Olsen, in 1929, for his book 'The Wonderland: From a Journey in New Zealand.' (p. 131) Olsen found him stooped, deaf and slow, and was unable to learn much from him. He would then have been about 85 years old. However Berger clearly recalled the big mosquitoes on the wet plains, which had plagued them when they first arrived.

Karen died at Awapuni on 31 March 1920, aged 73. After 18 months of intermittent illness, Berger died on 20 February 1933, aged 88, while living in Union Street, Palmerston North, with his daughter, Mrs Schioler. His obituary described how the family faced all the difficulties confronting the early pioneers of the Manawatu bush and how they built a "smiling homestead". Regrettably this was a 'stock obituary' and did little to individualise the family.

Despite this, Berger had a significant claim to fame. His obituary recorded that he had outlived all the other *Celaeno* men, while Annie Anderson, then still living in Dannevirke, was the last of the women. Berger was survived by four sons: Sigvart, of P.N.; Halvor, Levin; Alfred [b 4/6/1884], British Columbia, and David Sorensen, who was on the Awapuni farm. Another son, Henry, 'Harry', [b 24/2/1882] had been killed in World War I. There were also seven daughters, Mesdames T. Smith [Hastings], J. Kemp [Wellington], C. Jorgensen [Martinborough] H. Christensen and A. Schioler [Palmerston North], Miss Emma Sorensen [Palmerston North] and Miss Annie Sorensen [Wellington]. By 1933 there were also 15 grandchildren and 1 great grandchild. (ES 21/2/1933)

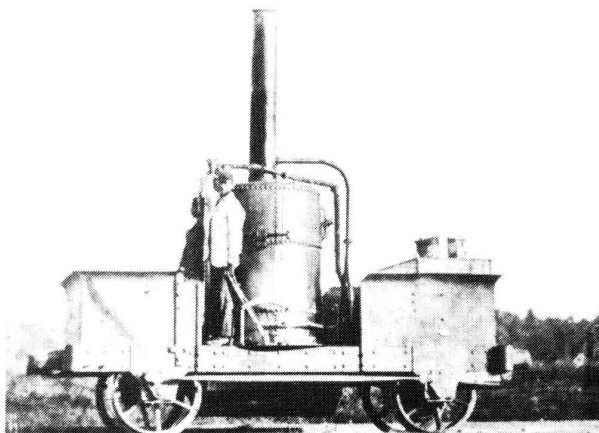
The couple share a grave at Terrace End Cemetery, along with Leslie, presumably a grandchild, [buried 21/9/1902, aged 2], Emma [1874(sic)-1942, aged 68] and Annie [1879-1947, aged 67]. There is also a memorial to Rifleman Harry Sorensen who died at Trois, France on 24 June 1917.

In 1901 Halvor married Barbara McEwen, a member of the well-known early Longburn family of that name. They farmed at Longburn for a short time before moving to a farm at Heatherlea, Levin in 1905. Halvor died there in 1958. (ATL: 'NZ Biographies' 1958, Vol.3: 83)

David Sorensen was superintendent of the Longburn Methodist Sunday School. On his death he bequeathed funds to the former Trinity Methodist Church, Cuba Street, Palmerston North. In 1990 this church amalgamated with St. Pauls Methodist Church, Broadway Avenue, to become Wesley-Broadway. These funds are known as the 'Sorensen Bequest.' [Ref: Tony Fisher's notes on the history of Wesley-Broadway, formerly St. Pauls and Trinity Methodist Churches, Palmerston North. 1993]

Basil Sorenson, a bachelor, and the son of David and his wife Jane, farmed the original property until shortly before his death on 5 February 1992. The farm was then sold. The old house, badly deteriorated and targeted by vandals, was then demolished.

(Sources include: Henry & Alfred Sorensens' birth certificates)



The Sparrow locomotive, 'Palmerston', which was built for the Foxton-Palmerston North tramway. By August 1872, the tramway was close enough to Ngawhakarau for the locomotive to be shipped from Dunedin to Foxton, and then up-river to the wharf at Ngawhakarau. On 20 August 1872, the 'Palmerston' steamed up the wooden tramlines to Palmerston North, where it was christened by Miss McKenzie amidst much celebration. However, even during this short trip, the locomotive's weight proved too much for the wooden lines, especially when going around bends. It was soon in storage at Palmerston North awaiting the installation of iron rails, while horse-drawn trams plied the tramway.

Once sufficient iron rails were laid at the Palmerston North end of the line, the 'Palmerston' was used to haul ballast trains out of the Terrace End Metal Pit. By its shape, possibly this locomotive was more deserving of the name, 'Coffee Pot', than was the 'Skunk', to which the name has been attributed. In 1994, a full-size replica of the 'Palmerston' was put on display in Main Street, Foxton, outside the Foxton Museum.

Miss McKenzie also bestowed the name, The Maggie, on the first boat at the Manawatu Gorge Ferry. She may have been "Mrs" Margaret Wilmor McKenzie (30), who died at Karori in 1884 and who was described in her obituary as the "first girl to visit" the Palmerston North district. on that occasion she had been visiting the Snelsons. (WI 26/8/1872, 6/9/1872; Cassells, 1984: 28,43; Buick: 311,350; Snelson Scrapbook: 20; MT 10/9/1884. Photo from Cassells, 1984: 27)

ENGLAND PASSENGERS

JOHAN DAVID ANDERSEN

Johan David Andersen was born in 1853, in Gustavi Domk Parish, Goteborg [Gothenburg], Goteborg och Bohus, Sweden, and was an 18 year old farm labourer, according to the passenger list. He was allotted Section 414, Lot 47 (19 acres) in Stoney Creek Road, but did not take it up.

[Establishment Costs: £9/10. Lot 47 payments: nil]

While his life story is unknown, by late 1917 he was a "patient" at Buchanan 'old men's' Home, Carterton, under the name 'David Andersen'. He was then aged 63 and had never married. He died on 31 May 1920 at Greytown and was presumably 'Johannes Andersen' whose death was registered at Carterton that year. (Aminoff, No. 205)

HANS MARTIN ANDERSEN and JOHANNA VILHELMINE OLSDOTTER

Johanna (25), called 'Hannah', travelled to New Zealand as a single woman, accompanied by relatives who have not been identified. She was born in 1844, at Goteborg, Sweden, the daughter of Olof Olsson.

As 'Johane Vilhelmine Olsen,' she married Hans Martin Andersen, called 'Martin', a sailor from the *England*. A.F. Halcombe recorded in his letter of 3 July 1871, that Hannah had become engaged to Martin (30) during the voyage. Martin had been working his passage out to New Zealand, and was of good character, being a sawyer by trade. Her relatives aboard were also happy with the union. The ceremony took place six days after the *England* arrived [25/3/1871], at Halcombe's home in Willis Street, Wellington. (NA: BDM 20/16, P249/30)

The couple were permitted the same settling conditions in the Manawatu as their shipmates. (AJHR D-No.3A: 21) They were allotted Section 418, Lot 3 (33 acres) on the corner of Napier Road and Roberts Line, which now includes the Lakemba Subdivision and Toyota New Zealand Ltd's National Customer Centre.

[Establishment Costs: £15/2 (includes £1/2/- for marriage licence and £2 cash) Lot 3 payments: £8/- May 1873; £6/- June 1873; £8/- June 1874; £6/- June 1875; £5/10 April 1876]

Prior to Charles W. Robert [pronounced 'Ro-bear'] and family buying Lot 3 from the Andersens, it appears that the 'line of road' now called Roberts Line, after the Robert family, had been known as 'Andersen's Line', so-called because of this Andersen family. Tenders for clearing the unnamed road "between Sections 3 and 4, at the top of the Terrace", were called in Autumn 1874. The name 'Andersen's Line' first appeared in the Manawatu Highways Board's Minutes on 13 April 1877, when C.A. Bergersen (q.v.) was contracted to cut and fill the road. This section of the road which bit into the Terrace became known as 'Andersen's Cutting'. The road was described on 8 October 1877 as "leading from Napier Road, through Andersen's Cutting, towards Bunnythorpe..." There is no reason to associate either of the alternatives, James Line [named after Ellis James], or present-day Stoney Creek Road, with anyone named Andersen.

The Robert family arrived in New Zealand on the Otaki in January 1877 and the receipt for their deposit on the farm, which they named 'Terrace End Farm', is dated 6 February 1877. Thus by the time 'Andersen's Line/Cutting' was christened in the records, the farm

belonged to the Robert family. (MT 18/4/1877; M.H.B. Minutes 21/6/1878)

The house site on Lot 3 was at the foot of the hill, until around World War I when a later owner rebuilt on the hilltop. The lower house site was, and still is, prone to regular flooding. [See R. Bochnig]. This may have encouraged the Andersens to move to the adjoining, smaller but drier, Lot 71 on Roberts Line. Lot 71 had been sold to speculators in 1874, with Martin being its first owner-occupier. He received title to it on 16 June 1879.

The Manawatu Highways Board Minutes of 1878 show that Martin and C. Andersen were contracted to work on part of Hendersons Line. In June Martin asked the Board to fell trees on the road line through [or alongside] his property. (M.H.B. Minutes 1/2/1878, 29/3/1878, 21/6/1878)

By April 1880 Martin owned the 22 acre Section 41, on the corner of Kelvin Grove Road and Stoney Creek Road. At this time he published a Fencing Notice, requesting that Anders Jonson, who was not an immediate neighbour, assist with boundary fencing. Jonson had Lot 44, in Stoney Creek Road. (MT 8/5/1880) By September 1881 Martin owned a 45 acre farm, possibly comprised of Lots 41 and 71 which, despite being far apart, do total about 45 acres.

It is apparent that Martin became very highly regarded by his associates, both Scandinavian and otherwise. However these were very harsh times. Pressures of stress, nervous breakdowns and possibly even chemical-related problems like lead poisoning, were not understood or allowed for. If someone showed signs which were not considered NORMAL, they could be inspected by two doctors and, if condemned by both, would be dragged into Court, accused of being 'lunatics'. They would then be effectively thrown into lunatic asylums - sometimes for the rest of their lives. On Tuesday 6 July 1881, Martin Andersen found himself in this position.

The 'Manawatu Times' published a surprising number of 'lunacy' courtcases, many being Scandinavians, but had treated none with the sensitivity accorded Martin Andersen. Their article, entitled 'A Sad Case', began with:- "It is with the deepest regret that we have to chronicle that Mr Hans Martin Andersen, a well-known settler of Stoney



The death of an old house. Martin and Hannah Andersen's house on Lot 71, Roberts Line, smoulders on the morning of 27 January 1973. During the First World War, it was the home of Charles Dahl junior and family. Originally its floor was very close to ground-level. The house was raised, upgraded and enlarged in the 1920s. The last year of its life was spent as a gang headquarters! (Val Burr)

Creek, had to be arrested on Monday on a charge of lunacy."

The early 1880s saw New Zealand in an economic depression. Many people went bankrupt and Martin also suffered financially. These difficulties preyed on his mind and influenced his behaviour. Hannah and their friends hoped he would recover, but that was not to be. He had buffered his financial problems by imagining he was extremely wealthy. He began collecting any livestock he came across and taking them home, convinced he had purchased them.

Finally, one day, Martin brought home all his neighbour's cattle. When he would not return them, Constable Gillespie was called in. Martin was persuaded to accompany the Constable to the Police Station, where the doctors were to examine him. Before this could be done, he became suspicious and escaped. He was soon found at Manson's shop attempting, in line with his illness, to make extensive purchases.

By the following day there was no doubt that he fitted the criteria set down for a 'lunatic'. Without further ado, a Court Order was made out for his removal to the Mount View Asylum in Wellington - and away from his family and friends. There would be few, if any, opportunities for Hannah, now sole supporter of five children, to make the long, tedious train and coach journey to visit Martin. He may never have seen his children again, let alone any friends. The prospect of temporary mental strain or rehabilitation were not great considerations in those times.

The 'Times' article ended with:- "The greatest sympathy is felt for [Martin] and his family, as he was one of the most upright and industrious settlers in the district, and his sad affliction the result of a too sensitive nature." (MT 6/7/1881)

By September 1881 the Andersens' 45 acre farm, including all improvements, was offered for sale. (MT 14/9/1881)

Martin was admitted to the Asylum on 8 July 1881 and in late 1882 he was admitted to the Infirm Ward. There he remained, and in early June 1883 his health began to decline further. Hannah was sent for and permitted to stay at the Asylum to be near him. Martin drifted into a coma and died on 9 June 1883. The Inquest attributed his death to natural causes, influenced by Apoplexy. He was aged 42. (NA: Coroner 1883/1242)

Martin was buried at Wellington on 12 June 1883, leaving five children: four boys then aged 11, 6, 5 and 2, and a daughter aged 9. Even extended-family support networks were in their infancy in 'Frontier Manawatu', let alone social services as are found nowadays. The community would no doubt have rallied around them. Times must have been very hard for Hannah and her family.

Hannah was remarried at Palmerston North on 7 December 1885, to Henrik [or 'Henry'] Segren, born in 1832 in Ostergotland County, Sweden. He had come to New Zealand in 1879. Aminoff states that his surname was probably 'Sjoegren'. Segren, a tanner, was the son of Henrik Segren, a soldier, and his wife Anne, nee Idinmann. He was naturalised at Palmerston North on 29 September 1887 and died there on 16 January 1911, aged 79. A child named Segren in the College Street School records may have been theirs.

Hannah died at the home of her daughter, Mrs A. Reid, of 23 King Street, Palmerston North, on 6 August 1935, aged 90. (ES 6/8/1935) (Aminoff, No. 2848, 2849; [NOTE: Aminoff has confused this Martin Andersen with another of the same name])

FOOTNOTE: *There have been at least three roads with the name 'Anderson' in and around Palmerston North: (a) Anderson's Line, now Roberts Line; (b) Anderson's Road, formerly the Kairanga Track, and now Camp Road, Linton; (c) Anderson Street, Palmerston North. The latter two roads were named after the Norwegian settler, Nils Anderson, and his family, who arrived on the Hovding in 1872. (Petersen, 1973: 182-3)*

LARS ANDERSEN

Lars Andersen was a 20 year old Danish farmer, according to the passenger list. He was allotted Section 416, Lot 57 (20 acres) in James Line, which he briefly took up.

[Establishment Cost: £9/10. Lot 57 payments: £8/- May 1873; £4/- June 1874; £8/- July 1876]

He may be the Lars Anderson (sic) who was naturalised at Carterton on 6 August 1887, stating he was a Danish-born farmer aged 37. Another compatible Lars Anderson, a widower, aged 67 in 1917, stated he was a Danish-born sheepfarmer of Mokau, and had been in New Zealand for 48 years. All three men were born in about 1850 and could be the same person.

PEHR PETTER ('Peter') ANDERSEN and ANNIE ALDERSON

(Peter Andersen travelled as a single man and met Annie in N.Z.)

Peter, whose surname was later Anglicised to 'Anderson', was born 11 April 1846, in Kopinge Parish, Kristianstad, Sweden. His mother was an unmarried woman named Elna Nilsdotter. His father's name has been lost.

Peter was 25 years old and described as a farm labourer on the passenger list. He was allotted Section 415, Lot 49 (19 acres) in James Line, but did not take it up. His former shipmate and neighbour, Hans Olssen, took over Lot 49 in 1871.

[Establishment Costs: £9/10. Lot 49 payments: nil]

On 10 November 1877 Peter married Alice Ann 'Annie' Alderson at Palmerston North. She had been born on 17 May 1855 in Yorkshire, England, and was the daughter of Anthony Alderson and his wife, Cecily. The large Alderson family had emigrated on the *Berar*, arriving at Wellington on 28 January 1875. Unfortunately Scarlet Fever developed during the voyage, claiming her father and one brother. Annie's obituary says that she arrived in Palmerston North in 1876. Cecily Alderson [c1829-1914] and her family had then settled in Albert Street (Sec 191, Lot 15).

The newly-weds may have followed Peter's employment at sawmills for a time. Certainly, when Henry was born in 1882, they were living at Kairakau Sawmill, Oroua, where Peter was a sawyer. However, they set up their family home on part of Section 68, at the corner of Broad and Terrace Streets. This is now the site of the Broadtop shops. The couple lived at this address for the rest of their lives, although the street number was changed a few times.

They had nine children:- Eleanor Mary [16/11/1878], Ann Eliza [24/11/1879], William [29/3/1881], Henry [26/6/1882], Ethel Cecily [21/10/1884], Leonard [6/12/1886], Minnie [30/7/1889], Lily [1/12/1891] and Inez [16/9/1897].

Both Cecily Alderson, still of Albert Street, and Annie Anderson, are known to have signed the 1893 Women's Franchise Petition. Cecily, as a solo mother with many responsibilities but no household voting rights in Parliamentary elections, was a good candidate to become a signatory as, therefore, was her daughter.

Peter, who was naturalised on 15 October 1890, has been alternatively described as a sawyer, a labourer, and then as a caretaker in 'Wise's Directory' of 1912. No doubt at one time he worked at Richter, Nannestad & Company's saw-mills. By 1917 he was an old age pensioner. He was also a member of Court Manawatu. Peter died on 6 September 1923 at his home, aged 77.

Annie died on 29 March 1929, aged 74. Her obituary described her as having a "quiet and retiring nature" and of being "held in high esteem by all who knew her." The couple are buried together at Terrace End Cemetery. The couple were survived by one son, Leonard, who in 1929 worked for the Palmerston North Post Office. Their six surviving daughters were:- Mrs H. Griggs, Mrs A.P.

Hanlon, Mrs W. Peters, Mrs C.L. Mowlem, Mrs F. Cousins, all of Palmerston North, and Mrs T.J. King of Hamilton. (ES 1/4/1929)

The Anderson home was apparently well-known in the community for businesses run by the family. Anderson's Employment Service operated from it and family members also operated a dressmaking business there in the 1920s and 1930s. The 1936 Wise's Directory records a Mrs Daisy Anderson living at 301 Broadway Avenue, which was probably the same house.

(Family Source:- c/- Palmerston North Genealogical Branch's 'Early Settlers Files', supplied by family members; Aminoff, No. 266. Also Henry Anderson's birth certificate.)

PETTER JOHAN ANDERSEN and MAJA CAJSA JONASDOTTER
(later Anglicised to Anderson)

Petter Johan [or Peter John] Andersen was born 9 November 1839 at Nassjo, Jonkoping, Sweden, while his wife, Maja Cajsa Jonasdotter, was born in 1842, in Varnum, Varmland, Sweden, the daughter of Jonas Olsson and Stina, nee Nilsdott. They were accompanied by their sons:- Johan Adolf, called 'Jack', born 27 December 1867, and Gustav Emil, born 24 May 1869, who were also born in Varnum parish.

The couple's descendants have Exit Permits for the family, which indicate that they had been vaccinated against smallpox, that they had a satisfactory knowledge of reading and religious matters, could take part in Holy Communion, and had a good reputation. In Sweden each person belonged to a parish and as part of the record keeping in that country, the Church issued permits for all people moving from one parish to the next. These were handed to the Church Authorities at the new place of residence. They indicate that Peter (31) and Maja (28) were bound for New Zealand. Johan and Gustav Emil were then aged 3 years, 11 months, and 18 months respectively. The passenger list described Peter as a farm labourer.

The only death to occur during the voyage was little Gustav Emil, on 24 January 1871, from diarrhoea. The ship's doctor later erroneously referred to him as John Peterson, son of Peter and Maria Peterson, aged 19 months. (NA: IM 6/7/1)

The family lost all their possessions near Rangiotu, while en route to Palmerston, as did some of their fellow passengers. The Oroua River flooded before the temporarily abandoned goods could be recovered. Probably Peter is

responsible for a letter to the paper which described the effects of this flood. The purpose of this letter was to support George Snelson's bid to win the 1879 General Election at the expense of A.F. Halcombe. Neither won.

When they finally reached Palmerston, the Andersons were allotted Section 415, Lot 10 (33 acres) in Napier Road. This farm was to remain in the family until the 1950s.

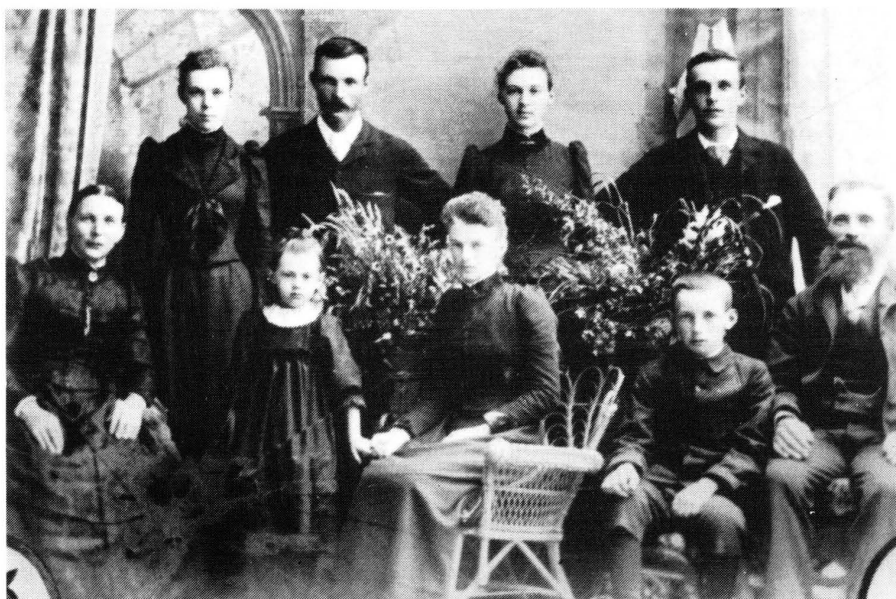
[Establishment Costs: £12/-. Lot 10 payments: £8/- May 1873; £5/6 Sept. 1873; £7/- June 1874; £7/- June 1875; £6/5 June 1876]

By 1889 Peter was the occupier of Lot 61 in Roberts Line, which was then owned by a Mr Bloom, a carpenter of Wellington. This property had been left untouched for some years, while land around it was cleared and developed. This had caused all three of the adjoining owners to publish Fencing Notices to get its absentee-owner's attention. (MT 30/4/1879, 16/8/1879; M.R.B. Rate Book 1889-90)

The family is best remembered for the steep-roofed, 'picture book' cottage the couple built on the property, now known as the 'Anderson Farmhouse'. This cottage was moved to Clifton Terrace in 1984, where it has been restored. This was the second home on Lot 10, having been built between 1875 and 1880. It was constructed of heart totara, with some of the timber being pit-sawn and some milled. Circular saw marks are still evident on the vertical weather-boarding. During restoration, the ornate fretwork now surrounding the entry porch was copied from the originals which were in poor condition. The symbol above the door proved to be a traditional design, intended to protect the house from the Devil.

Peter was probably a partner in the trio 'Erenstrom, Blixt and Anderson', [three neighbours] who obtained a contract on 26 June 1874, from the Manawatu Highways Board, to clear 40 chains of road in the Scandinavian Block to 'Dalrymple's Clearing', at £1/14/- per chain. J.T. Dalrymple then lived in what became Te Matai Road, and owned most of the land in that area, south of Napier Road. Possibly the clearing was where the Te Matai Sawmill had stood, on the southern side of Napier Road, between Roberts and James Lines.

In addition to farming, Peter, who was naturalised on 6 January 1885, became involved with contract work such as ploughing, and owned a horse team for this purpose. This took precedence over expanding the family's dairy interests, as other farmers were then doing. Amongst the contracts Peter obtained was the first ploughing of Palmerston's Square, which was then covered in low scrub. His young son Jack assisted.



A recently rediscovered photo of the Anderson family, in the early 1890s, which was found in the Anderson farmhouse prior to its relocation. It is the only known photo of Edward, who died on 1 March 1894, aged 14. They are from left: (standing) Mena, Johan, Clara, and Gustaf; (sitting) Maja, Ellen, Freda, Edward and Peter. (Valmai Anderson Album, Palmerston North City Archives)

The P.J. Anderson Farmhouse at Whakarongo, about 1895. From left are Peter, Freda and Maja. Compare this photo with that of its neighbour, Lars and Severina Blixt's former home, which may have been taken about the same time. (Valmai Anderson Album, Palmerston North City Archives)



Maja's obituary (ES 5/3/1925) records that she "was noted throughout the district in the early days for her benevolent disposition and great strength of character. Many times she rode long distances over rough country, to assist some settler's wife and family in times of distress."

An example of Maja's kindness occurred in the mid-1890s, at the time of a holiday spent at the farm by Jack's sons Ken and Bill, the latter being aged nine. Many years later Bill had his daughter, Valmai, record his memories of the incident.

On arrival at their grandparents' home, the children were instructed by Maja, in her mix of Swedish and English language, to be as quiet as possible, as she had a very sick man in the house. This man, named "Anis Johnston" ['Anders Johnston' ?] had been found collapsed on the road, by the coach coming through the Manawatu Gorge. He had been hopelessly lost in the Forty-Mile Bush for about three weeks, eating nothing but fern roots. By this time he was in a very emaciated condition. The coach-driver knew of Maja's wonderful way with sick people and had delivered him to her to be cared for. She made him soup and began to feed him fluids, a little and often, until he could regain sufficient strength to cope with normal meals.

The boys were appalled by the man's situation, as they ate their fill of their grandmother's homemade bread and roast pigeon. The boys slept in one of the upstairs attic rooms in the cottage. During the night they were awakened by the man crying out that he was hungry and wanted food. They had never heard someone cry out for food before. They got out of bed, sneaked past their grandparents' bedroom and down the stairs. Maja had also cooked a chicken and this was all the boys could find in the larder. They gave it to the man, who began devouring it hungrily.

Maja had woken up by this time and on discovering what was going on, she gently removed the chicken. She told the children that the man could have died if he ate any more just then.

Mr Johnston recovered and Bill, the would-be good samaritan, said that he did see him again. He would pass the family's home at Bennett's Siding, just above Taihape, with mobs of wild horses from the desert region. He was always welcomed to their house for a night's lodgings. [Note: In 1881, an Anders Jonson of Stoney Creek, went missing from Fitzherbert and was found three weeks later, badly starved, in the Forty-Mile Bush. This appears to be a coincidence. (MT 11,25,28/5/1881)]

One less-than-friendly encounter Maja had, on 9 September 1878, was with the volatile Perine Martine

Dahlstrom ('Skandia I': 23). The incident resulted in an adjournment to Court, at the instigation of Peter. Perine [the writer's step-great grandmother!!] was accused of using "indecent and insulting language" to damage Maja's character. Perine was notorious throughout the Scandinavian community for her aggressiveness. Apparently Maja held her own, as a cross-summons was served. With Frits Jenssen as interpreter, the verdict was decided that both held some blame, if weighted most heavily against Perine Dahlstrom. She was fined £2 with £2/11/6 costs, while Maja was fined half of those two amounts. (MT 21/9/1878)

The social scene in the district included many dances and gatherings held in the loft of the Andersons' large barn, which once stood near the house. Much later this loft was to serve as a temporary home for the couple's widowed granddaughter, Eileen Morgan, [Mena's daughter].

As the couple aged, Peter's poor health saw them retire to Ellen Uhrbom's home at 163 Featherston Street, Palmerston North. It was there that Peter died on 4 August 1924, aged 84. About seven months later Maja took ill and after about three weeks she died on 4 March 1925. The couple are buried together at Terrace End Cemetery, along with their son Edward.

The couple had seven children, including the Swedish-born sons Jack [died 1927] and Gustav Emil, who died on the *England*. The New Zealand-born children were three daughters: Fredericka 'Freda' [18/7/1872-1941]; Clara Albertina [1874-1895]; Gustaf Emile 'Emil' [c16/2/1876-1941]; Mena Olivia [1877-1949]; and son: Edward [1880-1894]. Jack and Emil lived in the Taihape area, where Jack was in partnership at one time with a Mr Bennett in a sawmill sited above the town, this man's name being the source of the name 'Bennett's Siding.' Emil lived in State Farm Road and had worked on the Ohingaiti Viaduct. Both later farmed in the district.

During the time the property remained in the family, the house was also lived in by their daughter, Mena Hastings, and her family. Later Ellen [Mrs E.A.] Uhrbom, nee Anderson, (c1889-1954) and her family lived there. Following Ellen's death it was passed to her second husband, Mr Jonston. In 1958 it was sold to a local farmer, Mr Sly; then after twelve months to Mr J. O'Brien.

Following Mr O'Brien's death, the future of the house was in doubt. An advertisement for the property is dated 28/5/1983. As the next owners wished to build a new home on the property, the old house faced demolition. Fortunately for the house and Palmerston North's Scandinavian heritage, if not for Whakarongo, Mr and Mrs A.H. Bray were prepared to take on the task of uplifting the old house

and restoring it to its former glory. A considerable amount of opposition was met from the new neighbours, who at that time did not appreciate its quality and character. It is now the beautifully restored occupant of No. 51 Clifton Terrace, alongside the other 'Anderssen Farmhouse' - that of another Swede, Carl Anderssen (q.v.), which the Brays had moved from Rongotea.

(Family source: Valmai Anderson, Palmerston North; Aminoff, No. 157, 196, 277; McLennan: 21; Wright/Woodhouse: 18; Mr and Mrs Bray's notes and conversations with Tony Bray.)

CARL APPELDORF

Carl Appeldorf sailed for New Zealand as a 28 year old Danish farmer. He was allotted Section 418, Lot 67 (23 acres) in Roberts Line which he took up. His name was published in the Manawatu Highways Board's 1879 list of rates defaulters, owing £0/7/9. (MT 29/1/1879) He probably sold it as soon as he received title to it. The property was purchased by Otto Tiller, possibly still as standing bush, during the late 1870s.

[Establishment Costs: £9/10. Lot 67 payments: £9/8 June 1873; £4/14 Sept. 1874; £4/14 July 1875; £4/14 May 1876]

Nothing more is known of him. (Misspelling: 'Appeltorff')

JOHAN AXEL ASSERLIND and CHARLOTTA ANDESDOTTER

Johan [or John] Axel Asserlind was born 12 May 1839, in Orgrýte Parish, Göteborg och Bohus, Sweden. In 1870, in Sweden, he married Charlotta [or Charlotte] 'Andeson', born 1849, also at Göteborg och Bohus, Sweden.

On the passenger list, Johan (31) was described as a farm labourer. Charlotta was aged 21. They were allotted Section 418, Lot 2 (29 acres) in Napier Road. However a note on the section map says 'Left 1872'. In 1874 the property was one of a number bought at Crown auction by Jacob Joseph, a well known speculator. He then left it untouched until the irritated neighbours insisted on boundary fences being constructed.

[Establishment Costs: £12/-. Lot 2 payments: nil]

The Asserlinds were the only Manawatu-bound family from the *England* who left within the first year or so and did not return - at least temporarily. They may be the couple who went to Napier in about January 1872. The *Stones' Directory* of 1895 lists Johan as living at 127 Cuba Street, Wellington. He was naturalised there on 16 November 1896, in both cases described as a labourer. Johan died on 4 October 1907 at Wellington. Four months later Charlotta died on 5 February 1908, also at Wellington. They were survived by one child. (Also called Aselind) (Aminoff, Nos. 314, 315)

CARL WILHELM BERG and MAREN PEDERSDATTER

Carl, born about 1832 in Copenhagen, Denmark, was a cooper. He may have felt the need to reduce his age slightly, to 35, to be accepted for the emigration scheme, as he would have been about 38 when he embarked. Maren (28) was born about 1842. Accompanying them was their 5 month old daughter, Avilda Sophia H., who was known as 'Sophia.'

They were allotted Section 415, Lot 16 (30 acres) in Napier Road which they took up reluctantly. Carl had written to the Government on 14 June 1872, asking if he could have the 29 acre Lot 2, which had been allotted to the, now departed, Asserlind family. (NA: W 3/2, 1872:

532) The exchange was not allowed and the writer wonders if the Berg family realised how floodprone Lot 2 was, compared to their own, and in fact changed their minds.

[Establishing Costs: £12/-. Lot 16 payments: £12/- May 1873; £6/- June 1874; £6/1 June 1875; £5/19 April 1876]

Whereas some of the Scandinavian immigrants are noted for their continued reappearances in the various records, the Bergs are notable for not appearing. Descendants are in the early stages of family research and the number of children the couple had is not yet certain. This was another family whose children's births were not always registered.

Sophia was a First Day pupil at Stoney Creek School in 1877 and was awarded a prize at a school ceremony the following year. (MT 25/5/1878) Their second child was Adolph Sophus, whose birth was not registered, followed by Amalie Caroline, called 'Amanda', in early 1874 and Emily, who was also unregistered. Adolph Sophus, Amanda and Emily started at Stoney Creek School between June 1878 and February 1881. (McLennan: 64) Amanda and Emily predeceased their parents. Younger children were Dorothea A., also seemingly unregistered, born about 1877 and Emilie Mathilda, called 'Amelia Matilda,' born in late 1879. Only Amanda and Amelia's births were registered, while Dorothy's year of birth comes from her burial records.

Carl was naturalised on 22 June 1885 aged 53, described as a settler of Stoney Creek, Palmerston North. The 1895 'Stones Directory' lists both Carl and his son Adolph, the latter described as a shepherd. Both were at Stoney Creek.

Sophia married John Fafieta, whose family had arrived from Bohemia on the *Terpsichore* in 1876, and settled in James Line. The couple lived at Lot 16 for a time. (McLennan: 28)

Adolph married Annie Rosetta Wilson and for the early years of their marriage the couple lived at Shannon. On 20 June 1907 Adolph had the good fortune to be one of 15 would-be settlers balloted land in the Tamaki Block, an area better known now as Te Rehunga, near Dannevirke. A total of 2195 applications had been received for the 15 sections. Adolph's property was Section 9 and consisted of 86 acres. (ES 21/6/1907)

Adolph and Annie's son, Ronald Adolph, who died in April 1993, aged 90, was born at Shannon. He recalled travelling by train from Te Rehunga, to stay with his grandparents at their Whakarongo property. The train would drop them off at the Whakarongo Station and they would walk down the hill to the farm, and his grandparents' small cottage. He recalled that it had roses growing against the wall or verandah, and remembered his grandfather as an old man with a long white beard, sitting in a chair.

Carl died on 18 May 1911, aged 79, with Maren dying, after a short illness, on 13 October 1915. She was survived by three daughters: Sophia, Amelia and Dorothea, and her son Adolph. (ES 13/10/1915) Lot 16 appears to have been sold about 1916, following Maren's death. The couple are buried together at Terrace End, along with their unmarried daughters, Amelia [died 10/11/1949, aged 70] and Dorothea [died 18/3/1963, aged 86]. Sophia Fafieta [died 4/11/1950] is buried at Kelvin Grove Cemetery, while Adolph is buried at Dannevirke.

A later owner of Lot 16 built the present house as an extension of the original one, which was then gradually demolished. A small part of the old Berg house still survives as the washhouse. The subdivided property currently belongs to members of the Vautier family.

(Family source: Noel and Rhonda Berg, Feilding.)

HANS CLAUDIUS BERTELSEN

Hans Claudius Bertelsen was born in Denmark about 1853-4. Described as a farmer, at 17 years he was one of the youngest men in the party. He was allotted Section 417,

Lot 64, being 18 acres in Roberts Line, but did not take it up.

[Establishment Costs: £9/10. Lot 64 payments: nil]

Hans was one of those who had headed for the Hawkes Bay by August 1871, in search of work. This group had not paid their debt to the Government before they left, and were to have this deducted from their wages if they did any more public works.

He was naturalised on 24 July 1887, aged 34, described as a labourer, of Masterton. He was still labouring at Masterton in 1895. (Stones Directory) By 1917 he was 64, and a dairy farmer of Cambridge, who had been in New Zealand 46 years. His German-born wife, Gertrude Bertelsen, was aged 50, and had been in New Zealand 41 years.

It has not been possible to trace much on the Bertelsens, although Albert Bertelsen, who was born in Masterton about 1886 and spent his early years there, might have been a son. Albert had then farmed at Roto-o-rangi and later at Cambridge. A widower, he died at Katikati in mid-1964, aged 78 years. He was survived by a son and daughter. (ATL: 'N.Z. Biographies,' 1964, Vol. 23) (Misspellings: Berthells)

LARS PETTER BLIXT and SEVERINA PERSDOTTER

Lars Peter Blixt was born 12 November 1828, in Hjernarp Parish, Kristianstad, Sweden. Severina was born 7 November 1837, in Kvibille Parish, Halland, Sweden. They married about 1859, when Severina was 22. Their grandson, Ian Blixt, understands the surname is Swedish for 'lightning', but does not know how the family came by it. Severina's Death Certificate gives her father's name as "Person", a farmer.

The Passenger List describes Lars, a clerk, as being 40 years old and Severina as 30 years old, whereas they were 42 years and 33 years respectively when they sailed. They had apparently taken the precaution of understating their ages to be accepted for the voyage. Both children, Gerda Elizabeth Blixt [b 8/4/1863] and Ellen ['Elin'] Blixt [b 8/3/1868] were born in Halmstad Parish, Halland, Sweden.

The family was allotted Section 415, Lot 11 (29 acres) in Napier Road, which they took up.

[Establishment Costs: £12/-. Lot 11 payments: £12/- May 1873; £6/- June 1874; £11/9/6 June 1875]

The couple's third child, Axel William, was born in 1874, while a fourth child, Oscar, was born and died in the last quarter of 1875. The couple proudly announced in the paper the birth of another son, Frits Albert, on 16 March 1877. (MT 21/3/1877) Sadly, little Frits, described as the "little boy Blixt", died of whooping cough during an epidemic in early December 1877. The newly-opened Stoney Creek School, which then had 20 pupils, was closed for a time due to the epidemic. (MT 5/12/1877) The epidemic claimed other young lives in the district.

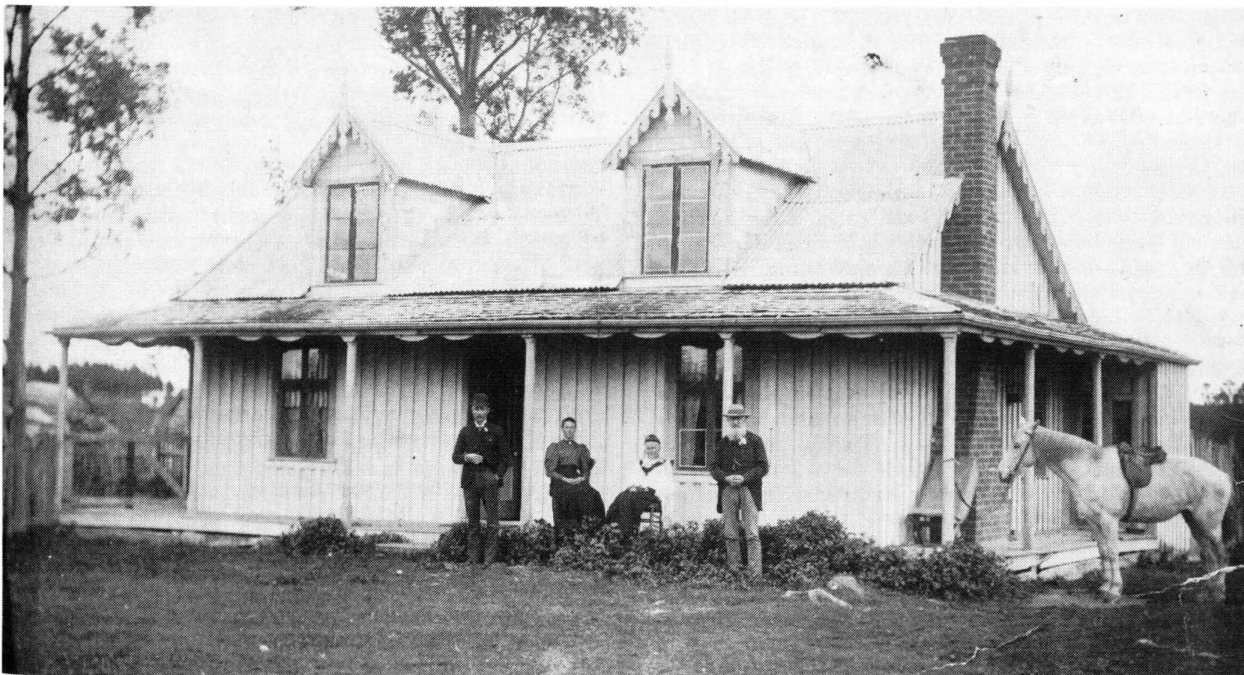
The Manawatu Highways Board Minutes of 26 June 1874 state that Messrs Erenstrom, Blixt and Andersen obtained the tender to clear 40 chain of road line in the Scandinavian Block at Stoney Creek, to 'Dalrymple's Clearing', at £1/14/- per chain.

Lars led a comparatively public life, being involved with local body politics, the Stoney Creek School Committee [1877 to at least 1880] and the Masonic Lodge. In 1877 the meeting to nominate candidates for No. 6 Ward of the Manawatu Highways Board was held at the Blixt home. (MT 7/2/1877)

The third week of May 1878 was an eventful one, with Lars being elected to the Stoney Creek School Committee on the 16th. A "tea meeting" was also held for the pupils and their parents, which included the school's prize giving and a meal in the school house. 'Miss Blixt,' probably Ellen, was awarded prize for being the "best conducted girl in the school." They were settling in comfortably to their new life in New Zealand. (MT 25/5/1878)

Unfortunately the family was fated not to enjoy their new homeland as a unit. After their busy week, Severina, who was normally very healthy, had felt unwell on Wednesday,

The elegant former Blixt home, with its Scandinavian influences, on Lot 11, Napier Road, Whakarongo, was a very worthy neighbour to the 'Anderson Farmhouse'. By mid-1888 the property was owned by Captain Preece, but was newly leased to Robert [a vet] and Harriet Horner. The Horners had arrived from Essex, England, on Captain John Mowlem's ship, the Electra in 1867. Mowlem later became a prominent Palmerstonian. The Horner family are, from left: Francis, Mary Elizabeth, Harriet and Robert. Harriet died at the house in 1899. Robert remained there until at least 1905, before returning to Patea. The house later burned down. (Mary Jamieson, Palmerston North)



May 22nd. Doctor Grimes was sent for, but despite his continued attention, she died at home at mid-day on Friday, May 24th, leaving her family and friends in shock. An inquest revealed she had a strangulated hernia. (MT 25/5/1878) Possibly this indicated how much heavy lifting she had done in the course of settling into their new life.

Severina was aged 38 [or more likely 40] years and left three surviving children, aged between fifteen and about five. She was buried on May 28th at Terrace End Cemetery, with the Wesleyan Minister, Rev. F. Dewsbury, presiding. Her gravesite and the record of her burial, like a number of other early deaths in Palmerston North, are not in the cemetery records.

In August 1878 Lars published a request for his neighbour and ex-shipmate, Peter Johan Andersen of Section 10, to contribute to the fence between the two properties. (MT 17/8/1878) Possibly they were not 'close' neighbours.

By March 1881 the country was in an economic depression and, like many others, Lars also found himself struggling. To ward off problems he sold off a number of things from the farm, including some cattle, pigs, hay, poultry, bees and household furniture. Many of these things must have also affected the viability of his farm. Even this was not enough. He was declared bankrupt on 19 May 1881. By the end of the year he was seeking a discharge, but this was affected by the Court-appointed trustee becoming ill and dying. Presumably the matter was rectified in 1882. (ES 30/3/1881, 21/5/1881, 22/10/1881, 23/11/1881, 7/12/81)

Lars was naturalised on 12 September 1885, as a settler of Napier Road. By mid-1888 that property had a new owner. (MRB Minutes 25/6/1888: 211) The Blixt family had then purchased a small farm in Hillcrest Road, Ashhurst (DP 215, Section 32).

In 1890, Lars married the Irish-born widow, Margaret Maddock/Tessdale at Palmerston North. In 1892 the couple had a daughter, Mary, known as 'May'.

Lars worked for many years as a roadman for both the Manchester Road Board [established 1882] and its replacement, the Oroua County Council [established 1903]. This job included keeping the roads metalled and free of pot-holes. He became well-known to the locals as they passed by in a somewhat slower moving age. In 1887 there was apparently some disagreement between Lars and the Manchester Road Board, and his employment was terminated. The story had a happy ending when the ratepayers of No. 6 Ward presented the Board with a petition demanding his reinstatement. The petition was successful.

Lars died at Ashhurst on 20 June 1907, aged 79 years, being survived by Margaret and four children. He had been a member of the United Manawatu Masonic Lodge since it was formed in 1877, and as such was accorded a Masonic funeral. He is buried at Ashhurst Cemetery. Margaret died on 13 September 1913, aged 52, and is buried at Terrace End Cemetery.

Gerda married the Finnish-born Otto Westerholm at Palmerston North on 11 May 1881. (q.v.) Ellen married Thomas Gardiner on 31 May 1888 at Palmerston North and the couple lived in Harrisons Line, Ashhurst. She died on 7 January 1930 at Palmerston North.

Axel's first job was carrying a butcher's basket for 5/- per week. He then went bushfelling before taking up a run, carting timber, with his four-horse team, from Foot's Sawmill, at Piripiri, to Ashhurst Railway Station. Each return trip took two days. The family lived in a rented house near Totara Reserve and Axel would make the trip from home to the mill and back on one day, then travel from home to Ashhurst and back the next day. He later wished he had bought trucks and continued the run.

He then purchased a 126 acre dairy farm at Awahou North on the main Pohangina East Road, about a mile before Totara Reserve. At first he supplied the Cheltenham Creamery and later the main factory at Palmerston North. He is remembered as having a tradition of going to town [Palmerston North] only once a year. His son, Ian, took



Transporting timber from less accessible places such as the Pohangina Valley, was a long, arduous and frequently destructive business where the fragile roads were concerned. Ian Blixt thinks that the driver of this timber wagon is almost certainly his father, Axel Blixt, who was virtually the only carter then on this route. The wagon is crossing the Roneura Stream, near Komako, probably in about 1915-1916 and certainly prior to 1920. In earlier times, before bridges were installed, the team had to make 26 river and stream crossings in the 40 kilometres between Foot's Mill, at Piripiri [then on Section 22], and Ashhurst. (Palmerston North Public Library)

over the farm in about 1944-5, after leaving the Army, shortly before Axel died on 29 September 1945. Ian continued to run the property until 1974. Axel's wife Catherine Murray Blixt, died on 2 January 1964, aged 85. The couple are buried at Ashhurst Cemetery.

May Blixt married Edward ['Ted senior'] Radomski and they remained in the district for many years, at various times owning and leasing six of the old Scandinavian Block sections in Roberts Line, including five at once. When consolidated, these little farms were more viable. A son of the couple, Joseph Radomski, married Olga Uhrbom, granddaughter of the family's former neighbours, P.J. and M. Anderson.

While there are a number of descendants of the family, Ian is the only one left in New Zealand who has the Blixt surname, although he has a nephew now living in Australia. (Davies and Clevely: 28; McLennan: 21, 27; Aminoff: 442, 443, 444, 445)

(Family Source:- Ian Blixt, Ashhurst; Barbara Crawford, P.N.)

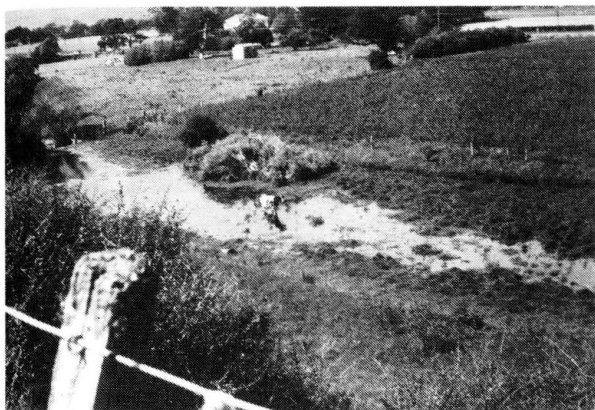
ROBERT BOCHNIG and CHRISTINE BENGTON (Surname Anglicised to 'BOCKING')

Johan Theodor Robert Bochnig, known as Robert, was born in Denmark or Prussia [probably Schleswig-Holstein] between 1831-5. He was a shoemaker. According to the Passenger List, Christine would have been born about 1842. They were aged 35 and 28 years respectively, when they sailed for New Zealand. Clearly Robert became a widower at an early stage, in fact probably before he came to New Zealand. It has not been possible to clarify whether Christine Bochnig from the *England* is also Christina Bengtson, the widow he married several years later. By that time the couple had at least one child together. There is no trace of an appropriate death registration of his widow to explain things.

The Bochnig family was allotted Section 418, Lot 1 (32 acres) in Napier Road, about half-way between Sutton Place and Roberts Line.

[Establishment Costs: £22/- (Includes £10 for shoemaking materials.) Lot 1 payments: £13/- May 1873; £6/7 June 1874; £6/8 June 1875; £6/10 June 1876]

They owned Lot 1 for about 18 years, while Robert also followed his trade as a shoemaker. He was recorded as a



A remnant of an old house marks the homestead site on the first Bochnig farm [Lot 1] in Napier Road. Behind it is the former McRae homestead, now the Manawatu Community High School. The lagoon in the foreground is an old bed of the Manawatu River and the area has always been very floodprone. The cow is Blanche who, on 25 March 1972, had jumped the fence! (Val Burr)

shoemaker/bootmaker in the Palmerston section of the 'Wellington Almanack' in 1872 and 1873, and must have been a great asset to the new community.

On 23 August 1874, 43 (sic) year old Robert married the 33 year old Christina 'Bengtson' or 'Benson' at Palmerston. Both had previously been married. Christina was Swedish and born in 1841. Aminoff said that she came to New Zealand in 1873, which seems unlikely; there are other errors in the entry, especially regarding age.

The couple's first known child was Josephine Emily [c1873], followed by Arvid Oscar [1874], and Adolph North [1875]. In 1876 they lost their two young sons, three days apart. Three month old Adolph North died on March 3rd from acute hydrocephalus, while 21 month old "Arvid North" (sic) died on March 6th from Enteric Fever. Both graves are unrecorded at Terrace End Cemetery. Other children were Annie Frida (c1877), Arvid Nord (c1879), Fritz Nord (1880) and Harvey A.E. (c1886). Probably the 'North/Nord' in the children's names relates to Palmerston North.

Robert first appeared in the Manawatu Highways [later Roads] Board Minutes on 26 June 1874, his tender being declined for road work. His farm was sufficiently established by 1878 for the neighbouring Lot 2, which had an absentee speculator-owner, to become an irritation. He was obliged to publish a Fencing Notice to pressure the wealthy owner to contribute to the boundary fence. (MT 11/5/1878)

As 'Robert Buchnich', he appeared in the Palmerston North Resident Magistrate's Court on 19 September 1878. The local Dog Inspector claimed that on August 29th, Robert had owned an unregistered dog. Robert's protest that the dog was not his failed when Constable Gillespie proved otherwise. Robert found himself with the minimum fine for the charge, 1/- plus Court costs. (MT 21/9/1878)

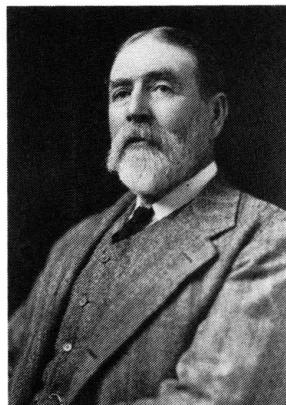
At the Manawatu Roads Board meeting of 14 July 1887, Robert and his near-neighbour from Lot 3, Mr Charles W. Robert requested that the Manawatu Road Board close a culvert under Napier Road. It was causing their farms to flood [the lagoon there is still very floodprone]. The Board agreed to do so, but did not act. At the next meeting [11/8/1887] the prominent landowner opposite, Mr A.E. Russell, opposed closing the culvert. He said that the road leading to his property [now Te Matai Road] had been badly damaged by flood water washing over it. Russell owned about 750 acres, mostly between Napier Road and the Manawatu River.

The problem continued in the Board's minutes of 10 October 1887. Robert [Bochnig] requested that something be done to relieve him of floodwater and replace gravel

washed off a bridge in Roberts Line. The former problem was put into the hands of the Warden, Flyger, while the latter was to be dealt with. Apparently Flyger did not see the matter Robert's [Bochnig] way and the following month a letter from him was tabled, demanding to know just what the powers of a Warden were? Clearly the rights of 'small' farmers paled somewhat against those of a very influential 'large' landowner.

In 1886 Robert was balloted the 100 acre Rural Section 78 in the Birmingham Small Farms Settlement, now Kimbolton, plus a small residential section, Lot 41, in that town. There the family were to establish themselves, although they were still in Palmerston North when he was naturalised, aged 53, on 13 August 1887. At that time he described himself as a German, born in Prussia. His birthplace is uncertain as his later records, during World War One, state that the 84 year old was a Danish sheepfarmer of Kimbolton.

He next appears in the Manawatu Roads Board Minutes of 6 May 1889, asking that "certain works" be done to Roberts Line. The only Manawatu Road Board Rate Book, that of 1889-90, records the transfer of Lot 1 from the Bochnig family to the new owner, Mr Row of Longburn.



Arthur Edward Russell [1910], the prominent landowner who refused to allow a culvert under Napier Road to be closed, to reduce flood water flowing onto the Robert and Bochnig farms. He later built the house 'Wharerata', which now belongs to Massey University. (Palmerston North Public Library)

In 1899 Robert applied for an Old Age Pension. He then owned 100 acres valued at £400, on which there was a mortgage of £150. He was entitled to a pension of £2 per year, but the application had to be adjourned until he produced a statement of his income for the previous year and the value of his stock. (FS 26/1/1899, 2/2/1899)

Christina died at Apiti on 10 June 1913, aged 69 years, being survived by her husband and four children. Robert died on 20 June 1928, aged 97 years. They are buried together at Kimbolton Cemetery, along with their son Harvey A.E. Bocking, a Great War veteran, who had died three months before his father, on 22 March 1928, aged 42.

Their New Zealand-born daughter, Josephine Emily, aged 23, married Jens Larsen, a Swede, at Feilding on 3 March 1896. In 1901 the Kiwitea County Council appointed Fritz Bochnig, of Kimbolton, as Ranger for the whole of the Kiwitea County. (FS 22/6/1901) (Misspelling: Bocknig, Bockwitz)

(Lusk, pages 35,122,158,161,174; Aminoff No. 460, 1673; Letters: A.T.L. to D. Storey, Auckland, dated 10/6/1981, 2/5/1986)

CHRISTIAN BONDE

Christian Bonde (19), was described as a Danish farmer when he sailed for New Zealand. He was allotted Section 417, Lot 65 (22 acres) in Roberts Line but did not take it up.

[Establishment Costs: £9/10. Lot 65 payments: nil]

Christian was another of the group of young men who abandoned Palmerston seeking better conditions in the Hawkes Bay. He was to have the money he owed the

Government deducted from his wages if he reappeared on any roadworks in the Seventy Mile Bush.

He could be Christian Christiansen Bonde, aged 28, born at Nordborg, on the island of Als, near North Schleswig, a German national according to his naturalisation papers dated 22 May 1882, and by then a farming contractor of Waipukurau. The Nordborg parish church book records only one likely person - Hans Peter Christiansen Bonde, born in Nordborg parish on 30 January 1856, to Christen Christensen Bonde and his wife Kirstine, nee Hansen. The Danish records reveal that H.P.C. Bonde did not turn up when due for his military service, with no reason given. If this is the same person, he sailed to New Zealand at the age of 14!! (Letter: 19/10/1992 - Landsarkivet for de Sonderjyske Landsdele to VAB)

JORGEN FRITZ BRAUNSTED

Jorgen Fritz Braunsted, known as Fritz, (26) supposedly a 'Danish' farmer, was one of the unluckiest men in the group. He purchased the ticket of one Hans Christensen who had apparently had a change of heart. For this reason Christensen's name appears on the departure list, in place of Braunsted's. Almost certainly Braunsted was a Swede, as he was recruited in Malmo, Sweden, by the Danish sub-agent. Hence he appeared on the passenger list as a member of the Danish party. Aminoff (No. 1842) describes one Fritz Birger Luther as emigrating from Gustavi Domkyrko, Goteborg on this voyage of the *England*. He was born 24 May 1849 at Kungsbacka, Halland, Sweden and was described as a labourer. Aminoff knew no more of him. There is a 5 year age discrepancy between the two, as well as their nationalities; however this may be Fritz Braunsted.



Fritz Braunsted in about 1871, from the Snelson Scrapbook. The caption reads "Had his leg cut off by a tree." It seems remarkable that this photo exists. (Palmerston North Public Library)

He was allotted Section 416, Lot 55 (20 acres) in James Line, but did not take it up, probably because of his injury.

[Establishment Costs: £9/10. Lot 55 payments: nil]

The 'Wellington Independent's' Palmerston correspondent wrote on 2 September 1871, that "a sad accident had

just occurred to a Dane named Braunsted. It appears that the unfortunate man was engaged in felling a tree, and accidentally got his leg cut clean off a little below the knee. The poor fellow has just been brought home, having been carried a distance of two miles, and is in a very exhausted state. The doctor, [Doctor Spratt] unfortunately, is away down the tramroad, some eight miles from here. A messenger has been despatched with all haste for him, and it is to be hoped that the bad state of the road will not delay him too long." (WI 7/9/1871)

The edition of 16 October 1871 advised the "The Dane, on whom Doctor Spratt performed a second operation is now rapidly recovering."

On October 15th Fritz wrote to the Government, by way of J.T. Stewart. "Would I cause you too much trouble by asking you to request the Government to get me a wooden leg, in lieu of my leg which I lost, and which, as you are aware, was amputated twice? I wonder what I shall be fit for! Do you think something could be done for me? I have been treated very well by the people up here, during my illness. (signed) Fritz Braunsted."

Stewart added that Doctor Spratt had promised to obtain a wooden leg for about 25/-. On November 12th Spratt advised Stewart that "(Carl) Bergersen (could) make Fritz a wooden leg, but he would not be able to use it for some time, owing to the tenderness of the stump." (N.A.: IM 6/7/1)

Fritz survived the ordeal but, regrettably, what became of him is unknown. Apart from an entry in the rates arrears list for the Manawatu Highways Board in 1879, he disappeared from surviving records. (MT 29/1/1879)

There was very little State or official provision for a badly injured person in this environment, but possibly a great deal of community caring, given the length of time they had all spent together. Doctor Spratt had been appointed to care for the Public Works employees in the district, but clearly could not get around quickly. The town had been cut off for months by the bad roads. The most likely place Fritz would have been taken for treatment was the Palmerston Hotel, as the tiny houses, such as had by then been built would not have been very suitable for a extremely ill man.

The writer's great grandfather, Amos Burr, who was overseer to part of the group, had lost both forearms in a cannon-firing accident as a youth in 1840, on the ship 'Cuba'. He had hooks, tools and eating utensils, which locked into an apparatus he wore, in place of his missing hands. Braunsted would have been only too well aware of Burr's presence, his disability and his adapted skills. Burr had built the Palmerston Hotel and may have still had a financial interest in it. One hopes that these things may have had a positive effect on Braunsted's emotional recuperation - and maybe even on the cantankerous Burr, whose yet-to-be-born son would one day marry the yet-to-be-born daughter of Anders Christian Christensen (q.v.). (Misspellings: Brause and Brannstead)



Doctor Henry Howell Spratt [L.S.A. (London), M.R.C.S. (England)], the first doctor to practise in the Palmerston North area. Spratt accepted the appointment on 6 July 1871, to provide medical care for the men working on the roads in the Palmerston and Manawatu Gorge areas. All the men and contractors paid by J.T. Stewart, the District Engineer, had a levy of 2/6 per pay-day deducted from their wages. This was to cover any need for medical attendance and any medicine. Spratt (1847-1918) was the son of Doctor H.T. Spratt, of Greytown, the family having emigrated from England in 1855. After an apprenticeship with his father, Henry returned to England to train. He arrived back in 1869 and was registered on 1 January 1870, working at Greytown until his appointment to the Manawatu. He resigned from this position of 18 July 1872, but remained as coroner until about 1873. He then returned to Greytown. [Doctor R. Rawstron's lecture to Probus, P.N., of 6/9/1993; NA: IM 6/7/1; W 3/1, letter 71/1294; Petersen, 1973: 138; AJHR 1872, G-53: 30] (Dick Rawstron, Palmerston North)

WILLIAM JOHN ERENSTROM and CHRISTINA ERIKSDOTTER

William Erenstrom was born 'Wilhelm Johan Ehrenstrom' on 9 November 1845 in Brunskog parish, Varmland, Sweden. On 16 May 1869, at Amal, Sweden, he married Christina Erikdotter, who had been born 23 July 1839, in Tveta parish, Varmland. Their son Carl Johan ['Charles John'] was born 2 November 1869 at Amal city parish, Alvsborg. On the passenger list they were described as Wilhelm Johan (26), a farm labourer, Christina (30) and Carl John (1).

The family was allotted Section 414, Lot 12, (29 acres) in Napier Road, about half way between James Line and Stoney Creek Road.

[Establishment Costs: £12/-. Lot 12 payments: £12/- May 1873; £6/- June 1874; £6/- June 1875; £5/10 June 1876]

William did road works for the Manawatu Highways Board in the early years, 1874 being his most visible year. He was part of the group 'Erenstrom, Blixt and Anderson' which cleared 40 chain of road in the Stoney Creek Scandinavian Block, for £1/14/- per chain. In July he asked permission to split and remove timber from the roadway he was clearing under his contract. The Board decided to inspect the trees first and also placed a notice in the paper cautioning others against cutting and removing timber from the road-lines without permission. The result for William is unknown. In December he obtained the tender to work on the road "leading to Te Matai", then the name of a homestead on the present Te Matai Road. He was to receive £2/4/6 per chain and an extra £19 for a bridge. (MHB Minutes: 11/4/1874, 26/6/1874, 31/7/1874, 4/12/1874, 5/2/1875)

In 1878 William became a foundation employee at Richter, Nannestad & Co.'s Manawatu Flour Mill, becoming Head Miller, a job he was to retain for 44 years. It is probable that he had known of this appointment for some time, as in November 1877 he unsuccessfully advertised his farm for sale, including all stock and improvements. A.C. Christensen, (q.v.) a baker and miller, advertised his farm for sale at the same time and with the same result. (MT 14/11/1877)

Charles' obituary (ES 8/1/1944) says that he spent all of his childhood at Stoney Creek, and that he was a first day pupil [5th on the Register] when Stoney Creek School opened on 4 October 1877. His sister, Anna, started the same day, followed a year or two later by Amy. William was naturalised on 23 September 1887, described as living in Palmerston North. However, the Manawatu Roads Board's Rate Book for 1889-90, reveals that they then owned both Lot 12, and also the adjoining Lot 47, which fronted Stoney Creek Road. The 1895 'Stones Directory' has William as a miller of Main Street, Palmerston North. The couple's declining years were spent at 278 Featherston Street.

They had been foundation members of the Open Brethren Church in Palmerston North, in 1883, and William was later described as always quiet at the religious meetings and not gifted with ministering; however he "lived a consistent Christian life." ('The Treasury', Vol. 24: 127)

William remained Head Miller until he became ill on Thursday, 26 May 1922. He died suddenly from heart failure on May 30th, aged 76. In the early 1920s Christina became "more or less" an invalid, although she managed to retain a happy disposition despite her troubles. ('The Treasury', Vol 26: 127) She died on 22 June 1924, aged 84 years. They were buried at Terrace End Cemetery.

The couple were survived by four children: Charles J. 'Charlie', Miss Anna M. Erenstrom [c1871-18/10/1936] Amy, [b mid-1870s]; and Edith Christina [b 24/7/1879]. A daughter, Emma Louisa, was born at Stoney Creek on 3 September 1874; she may be Amy or another child who died young. Amy became Mrs W.R. Andrews. Presumably her husband was Charles' partner in the business



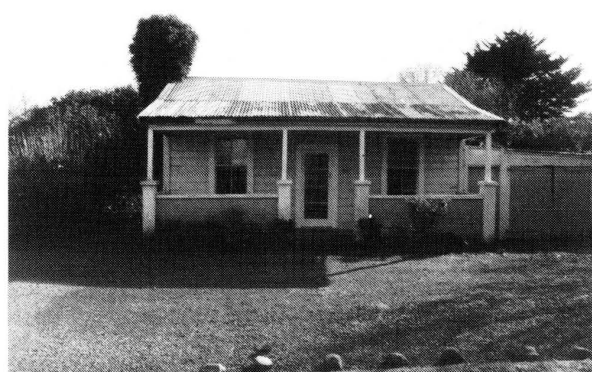
Employees pose outside The Manawatu Flour Mills, Broadway Avenue [the site of Melody's New World Supermarket, in about 1921-1922. Left to right:- Charlie Erenstrom, unknown, William Erenstrom, Carl, A.P. 'Pen' Stuart, 'Scotty' Burns. The rest are unknown except Jack Bambery, the cart driver. (Palmerston North Public Library)

'Erenstrom & Andrews'. Later this couple moved to Wellington. Edith became Mrs A.E. Picken and lived in Palmerston North.

Charlie Erenstrom began his working career at the Manawatu Flour Mill with his father, before becoming a partner in the bakery and catering business 'Erenstrom & Andrews'. The 'Cyclopedia of N.Z.' (p. 1177) describes them in 1897 as the manufacturers of bread, biscuits and confectionery, at the Model Bakery, Main Street, which they had owned since 1893. The business had been founded by Mr C. Whitehead in 1880. Erenstrom & Andrews claimed to have the finest bakery in the Manawatu and operated 5 delivery carts. Charlie attended the outdoor work while the Scottish-born co-owner [probably his brother-in-law], William Reid Andrews, attended to the indoor business. One of the bakery's contracts was to supply bread to the Palmerston North Hospital.

Evidently they did not retain the bakery business long. Charlie appears in staff photos of the Palmerston North Sash, Door & Timber Company (q.v.) around the turn of the century. Later he returned to the Manawatu Flour Mill. John Ireland, who owned the Mill from 1919 to 1965, recalled that Charlie was employed as an engineer. His job included looking after the suction gas engine which powered the flourmill, until conversion to electricity in 1924. One time while they were grinding lucerne, Charlie put his hand up the spout and lost two fingers. (Interview of John Ireland, by Ian Matheson, 10/6/1968)

Charlie married Eleanor Marianne Tasker, aged 22, at Wellington in June 1897. Eleanor was one of the first group



The old Erenstrom cottage at Whakarongo, which has undergone alterations and extensions over the years. It is owned by the Christiansen family. ('Skandia I': 62) Winter 1993. (Val Burr)

of nurses at the Palmerston North Hospital when it opened in 1893; she remained there until her marriage. Several years later she resumed private nursing on a casual basis, taking charge of Mrs Freeman's Private Hospital in Princess Street, while Mrs Freeman was absent. Later she took up maternity nursing for 37 years on a 'visiting' basis. (ES 14/10/1952)

Described as an engineer, Charlie died on 4 January 1942, at Palmerston North. Eleanor died on 11 October 1952. The couple were survived by nine children - four sons and five daughters. (Aminoff, No. 745, 746, 747, 748; also spelt 'Ehrenstrom' and Aminoff calls him 'Johan Wilhelm'.

AUGUST GUSTAFSON

August Gustafson (24), supposedly a 'Danish' farmer, purchased the ticket of Niels Larsen, who had a change of heart about the trip. This ticket was purchased from the Danish sub-agent in Malmo, Sweden. August was amongst those who wrote a letter of complaint in April 1872, about the loss of his goods in the Oroua River. He was allotted Section 415, Lot 8, (24 acres) on the corner of Napier Road and James Line, and was the only one to pay his land off in a single installment.

[Establishment costs: £9/10. Lot 8 payments: £24/- Aug. 1873]

Possibly he was keen to sell this land, as when he made this one payment (2/8/1873), he asked how long it would take to receive the Crown Grant. (NA: IM 6/7/1) 'Gustafson & Co.' formed and metalled 120 chain of the 'Foxton to Sandon' road (£396) and 198 chain of the 'Bulls to Palmerston' road (£806/17/0). (WPGG, 1874: 80) Nothing more is known of him. (Other spellings: Gustopherson or Gustafsson)

JOHAN EDUARD HANSSON

'John Edward Hanson,' as he came to be known, was born in 1848, at Bastad, Kristianstad, Sweden and was the son of N.P. Hansson and his wife, whose maiden name had been Ohman. He was on the passenger list as a farm labourer aged 23. He was allotted Section 415, Lot 51 (19 acres) in James Line.

[Establishment costs: £9/10. Lot 51 payments: £4/- May 1873; £4/- Aug. 1874; £11/- Sept. 1875]

In early 1873, John moved to Foxton, where he was employed as a clerk, by John W. Liddell, a storekeeper. In August of that year he hastily forwarded the payment for Lot 51, having discovered there was a deadline for doing this. He was still working there on 26 September 1874, when he was naturalised, giving his birthplace as Landskrona, Sweden.

John was back in Palmerston North by April 1879, at which time he sat on the Coroner's Jury for Nils C. Christiansen's house fire. (q.v.)

Possibly the hard work required in the bush was responsible for John suffering the hernia which troubled him thereafter. This may have led to him seeking out lighter work. On 12 August 1879, he was operated on by Doctor H.K. McLachlan to ease the hernia and although this gave some initial relief, his health deteriorated. He died at his home on Saturday, 15 August, aged 31, from a strangulated hernia, and also peritonitis following the operation.

His hernia had not confined him to bed and as he had been able to go about his business until the last few days, his death came as a shock to the district "where he was most deservedly respected." He had been working as a storekeeper for Richter, Nannestad & Co. at Trondheim Sawmill. As he was single, with no other relatives in New Zealand, "his last hours were soothed by the kind minis-

trations of Messrs Jenssen, Lindgren and other of his compatriots." (MT 16/8/1879) Many years later Frits Jenssen would perform the same sad function at the death of Christian Lindgren. (q.v.)

John was buried at Terrace End Cemetery, but his name does not appear in surviving Cemetery Registers. Christian Lindgren took over the task of winding up his estate. (Aminoff, No. 1041)

NIELS CHRISTIAN HANSEN and RAGNHILD GUDMUNDSEN

(Niels arrived as a single man and met Ragnhild in New Zealand)

Niels Christian Hansen was born about 1851 in Denmark, the son of Hans Christian Christensen, a farmer, and his wife Kirstens, nee Neilsen. Little is known of his family, other than that Niels had described how their cattle were wintered-over in large sheds on the farm - a standard practice in cooler countries.

Prior to emigrating, Niels had trained as a gardener, including a period spent at Kew Gardens, London. Clearly, despite his youth, he was one of the more 'worldly' passengers on the *England*. He had signed up to emigrate as a 19 year old farmer.

Niels was allotted Section 416, Lot 58, (20 acres) in James Line, which he did not take up immediately. In 1874 it was sold at Crown Land auction to 'C. Bull and another' along with Lots 56 and 59 for £1 per acre. C. Bull and his partner used scrip to purchase the properties; scrip was part of the payment given for service in the military or militia. Possibly C. Bull and partner had then bought the Scrip from the soldiers. Many other purchasers appear to have done this.

[Establishment costs: £9/10. Lot 58 payments: nil paid direct to Crown]

Niels was the only 'non-payer' to eventually purchase 'his' original property back from the various speculators. It is not known what attracted him to this specific block, although he may have already begun clearing it. As Lots 56 and 59 were purchased by settlers in the mid-1870s, he probably bought Lot 58 at the same time. He cleared it between his other jobs, intending to turn it into a nursery.

Part of Niels' initial commitment to the Government included working on the Upper Gorge Bridge, which was completed in 1875. He spoke of hiding in the bush whenever Maori came through in their canoes, indicating the insecurity he and his companions lived with. He also carried out a lot of bush work around the district, including helping clear the future Kelvin Grove Cemetery site, opposite his farm. This land then belonged to Hans Olsson, (q.v.) foreman of the Gorge road maintenance team, who was probably Niels' immediate boss. At some point Niels also worked on the Wellington waterfront, according to his obituary.

On 8 March 1884 Niels (33) married Ragnhild Gudmundsen (28) at the Lutheran Church, Palmerston North, with Pastor Gaustad presiding. Ragnhild, who gave her address as Stoney Creek, was the daughter of Bjarne Rirstern Gudmundsen and his wife Ingeborg, nee Sidenins. Bjarne Gudmundsen was described as a farmer, but was said to have been as high in the Danish Church as the Archbishop of Canterbury was in the English Church. As a child Ragnhild played with the Danish Royal children - presumably those of King Christian IX, who reigned from 1863-1906. The previous king was childless.

Ragnhild was a former nurse, and spoke of having to pay for this training. She had suffered a serious illness in Denmark, following an epidemic there. Her trip to New Zealand had been intended to help her recuperate. Her friend, Kristine Berthelsen, accompanied her. Kristine's



Niels Christian and Ragnhild Hansen. (Rhona Gosling)

descendants understand that they arrived in New Zealand in October 1883.

One of the witnesses at Niels and Ragnhild's wedding had been Anders Berthelsen, Kristine's brother. He had arrived in 1875 as a single man, aboard the *Humboldt*. Probably Anders provided the attraction to New Zealand, and may then have lived at Stoney Creek. Niels and Ragnhild's other witness was Knud Jensen, also from the *Humboldt*, who was the couple's neighbour in James Line. (see 'Skandia I')

Ragnhild's father was angered by his daughter's decision to marry a 'commoner', and promptly disinherited her. Although it has not been possible to trace her background, the family has a letter written on 20 February 1926 by her

Kristine Koehler, nee Berthelsen, (1864-1942) who travelled to New Zealand with Ragnhild Gudmundsen [Mrs N.C. Hansen] in 1883. In 1887, Kristine married Georg Evald Waldemar Koehler, whose family had emigrated from Guben, Germany. This couple built the old 'Koehler Homestead', which is still standing opposite Terrace End Cemetery. Photo 1880s. (Palmerston North Public Library)



The newly-built home of Niels and Ragnhild Hansen at Napier Road, Whakarongo, almost opposite James Line. They moved there from the 'Hansen Cottage' in 1893, dating this photograph at about 1895. From left are therefore: Ingeborg, Ragnhild holding baby Ragnhild, Marie, Lily and Niels. Note the bush in the background, which was almost opposite James Line, and also the carefully labelled plants in the garden. It is now the home of Mr and Mrs Sid Leader. (Rhona Gosling)



The old 'Hansen Cottage,' James Line, opposite Kelvin Grove Cemetery, in 1993. Built c1884 by newly-weds, Niels and Ragnhild, it was, until recently, part of a private Museum. (Val Burr)

brother, Mr H. Gudmundsen, which supports the 'higher' social position of the family. According to his letter-head, he was an Attorney-at-Law in Ord, Nebraska, U.S.A. By that time he been "about 30 years in the Valley County Courthouse" and "21 years (as a) County Judge." Later his daughter went into politics against him. Clearly the family raised strong-minded daughters!

At about the time of their marriage, Niels built the tiny cottage which is still standing on the property - directly opposite Kelvin Grove Cemetery. Lot 58 is understood to have still been heavy bush at that time. The 'Hansen Cottage' is one of only two little 'colonial' cottages remaining in the former Scandinavian Block, which still has a known history; the other one is on Lot 12.

While Niels participated in clearing large areas of bush, his heart was not in this blatant destruction. He felt that the more the indigenous bush was cleared, the colder the region would become.

Like so many others during the early 'establishment' days, the Hansens were not financially secure. They suffered a degree of hardship which might have melted Ragnhild's father, had he known. Ragnhild unfortunately suffered yet another period of ill-health during this time, maybe in the course of her pregnancy with Marie Catherine, born in early 1889. At their meeting of 12 November 1888, Niels asked the Manawatu Roads Board if they could attempt to obtain a reduction in the expensive 3/- per day fee he was being charged, for occasions when Ragnhild was a patient at the Wanganui District Hospital. This hospital then catered for Palmerston North's more serious medical problems. The Board's Secretary was instructed to write and point out Niels' hardship and to see if a reduction could be made in this case. The Board's Minutes for 11 February 1889 record that a letter had been received from the Hospital and Charitable Aid Board, regarding "Mrs C. Hansen," but gave no details. As no other such request appears in the early Minutes, this must mean Ragnhild.

Neils' talents as a nurseryman were recognised early. In 1883 he appeared as a witness in the trial of a Thomas Nelson, who, with the help of Anders Neilson, had stolen about 400 fruit trees from the farm of Herbert and H.R. Russell [A.E. Russell ?]. Neils was required to value the remaining trees. These he estimated at £5, thus the missing trees were valued at £7 or £8. (MT 29/8/1883) [Note: This was the former Dalrymple property. Herbert and Arthur E. Russell had purchased it in January 1882. Another brother was Sir William R. Russell, a politician. (MT 29/8/1883; McLennan: 16; S.W. Grant: 437)]

Niels was naturalised on 24 October 1890, described as a gardener.

In about 1893, Niels purchased 10 acres on the south side of Napier Road, opposite James Line. This property

consisted of very fertile 'market gardening' soil, and was perfect for his purposes, even if it might be flooded by the Manawatu River occasionally. Probably the sellers were the aforesaid Russell brothers. The original 'clay-based' James Line property was then sold. On the new property Niels built a larger new home and also glasshouses. From there the couple conducted a successful nursery business, called the Stoney Creek Nursery.

The next stage in the family's business began in 1901, when they opened a shop in the Square, between the present-day Plaza and Fitzherbert Avenue. This became the first plant shop in the town, selling fruit, flowers and seeds, as well as taking orders for fruit trees, macrocarpas and pinus. He was agent for Cooper's special seeds, which he recommended as he had been using them for years. (ES 4/1/1901) This shop was eventually sold as a going concern to the Just family, who were also there for many years.

On Wednesday morning of 28 May 1902, a horse pulling Mr Whitehead's baker's cart, galloped from Main Street into the Square and, despite numerous narrow misses, traversed the Square without incident. Finally when "opposite Mr Barry's establishment" [F.T.C. Ltd. - 1994], the runaway collided with Niels and Ragnhild's spring cart. The force of the collision upset both vehicles, and Ragnhild was thrown into the air, landing on her head. The wheel of their trap, which was turned round by the impact, ran over her while she was on the ground. She was carried, unconscious, to Mr Whitehead's shop [near the Public Library area - 1994] where "temporary remedies were given..." She was then taken to hospital. By afternoon, she had regained consciousness and was "recovering favourably". Neils had also been thrown out, but was uninjured. The guilty horse badly cut its hind fetlock but otherwise escaped injury. The baker's cart was completely demolished. (ES 28/5/1902)

Rhona Gosling, daughter of Marie, spent much of her childhood with her grandparents and has many memories of them. She recalls Ragnhild as an accomplished cook, noting also that a number of descendants of the couple have become chefs and caterers. Ragnhild never wasted anything. She would feed up a pig on scraps and then, once it was slaughtered, she would make use of all possible parts of it, including making sausages and smoking the four hams. The hams would be hung in the washhouse chimney with the woodchips in the fire beneath, being kept smouldering to create smoke. If these caught fire, water would be sprinkled on them to make them smoke again.

There were four cows to milk each day and every second day the milk was separated and churned. Ragnhild liked her butter a deeper yellow than modern butter. After her death, when they had to purchase butter, the purchased product seemed insipid by comparison. Ragnhild made her own cheese and also elderberry and parsnip wine. She made some wine in anticipation of Rhona's twenty-first birthday and buried it while it matured. Unfortunately she died two years before the big event and no-one ever found it. She ground her own coffee, buying green beans from Watson Bros. [on the eastern side of the Square, now Manawatu TV & Sound site]. She then roasted the beans to the colour she wanted, adding chicory to help the taste. She always had a blue enamel, lid-less kettle sitting on the stove, with a little bag of coffee dangling into the water. There was always coffee at the ready in the Hansen household. There was also a gong to announce the 'official' coffee-breaks.

Ragnhild's cooking was very highly regarded and won her prizes at shows. One example of her baking which Rhona recalls was a Danish biscuit called 'Kliener,' which was a pastry-like recipe, boiled in fat. Schmidt's Danish cake shop which was once at Terrace End, used recipes received from Ragnhild's daughter, Hulda Downing, which were probably also family recipes. Ragnhild's talents also extended to needlework, a skill she passed on to her daughters and to Rhona.

Despite her early illness and the accident she suffered in 1902, Ragnhild reached a good age, dying suddenly at home on 5 January 1928, aged 71.

At some time prior to 1933 Niels had a short stay in Australia, where he worked at Sydney's Botanical Gardens. However he disliked the climate and did not stay long. Rhona recalls him as a quiet, reserved 'little' man, but he had a temper and, while strict, was also very gentle. For everyday wear he always wore clogs, made for him by a shoemaker whose shop adjoined Niels' shop in the Square. He only wore boots when going to town. He developed a strong mistrust of Germans after World War One, and was not the only local Dane with these anxieties.

The Whakarongo property grew a variety of plants, including fruit, vegetables and even peanuts. Of these plants, five hazelnut trees still survive on the property. The Harrison family, who later became prominent in the nursery and garden supplies business in Palmerston North, bought the first of their stock from Niels. Rhona was told that the glasshouses suddenly collapsed one day, many years after the family left.

Niels was interviewed by the 'Evening Standard' in January 1933, soon after selling the Whakarongo property. He was then the oldest inhabitant of that district, aged 83, and in "full possession of his faculties." He had given up nursery work two years previously after a serious illness. He described the development of the Whakarongo district, including a remark that Mr Snelson had opened the first store there.

Niels went to live with his daughter, Marie Petterson, at 329 Victoria Avenue, Palmerston North, where he enjoyed very good health until his final week. He had developed a skin condition on his face, possibly melanoma. He died as a result of this condition on 24 September 1935, aged 84 years, and was survived by four daughters, ten grandchildren and five great grandchildren. The couple are buried at Terrace End Cemetery with two of the three children who predeceased them - Ragnhild junior and Arthur Louis.

The couple had seven children:- Ingeborg Nielsine [1885], Lily [1886], Marie Catherine [1889-1972], Ragnhild [1892-22/4/1905], Bjorne Thorvald [1893-9/9/1893], Hulda [1895] and Arthur Louis, called 'Louis' (1897-10/12/1918). Bjorne died from convulsions aged four months. Louis had been a boy-soprano and had also become a respected pianist, called upon to play at dances. However he was weak-chested and caught a chill at the Whakarongo Hall, while waiting, half-dressed, for his medical examination as an Army conscript. This later developed into tuberculosis and claimed his life. (McLennan: 21; ES 28/5/1902, 20/1/1933, 25/9/1935)

(Hansen family Sources: Rhona Gosling and Christine Putaka, Palmerston North. Koehler family source: Palmerston North Genealogical Branch's Early Settler Files, information supplied by members of the Koehler family.)

JOHAN ALFRED JACOBSEN and CAROLINE CHARLOTTE ANDERSDOTTER

Johan Alfred Jacobsen, or Jacobson, (22) was born 18 September 1849, in Skepplanda, Alvsborg, Sweden. He was described as a farmer on the passenger list. According to Aminoff the couple married aboard the *England*, during the voyage. Caroline [or Carolina] Charlotte 'Anderson', [born 1851, Sweden], was said to have been travelling on the ship as a single woman, aged 21. Certainly a Charlotte Anderson or Andrews, aged 18, was amongst the single women who were aboard. She had contracted to travel to Napier with a number of non-Scandinavian passengers. Complicating this is the document dispatched by Shaw Savill & Co. on 1 December 1870, announcing the departure of the ship. At this point they were already described as Mr and Mrs Jacobsen.

They were allotted Section 413, Lot 17 (33 acres) in Napier Road. (N.A.: IM 6/7/1); but during the terrible winter of 1871, the couple decided to abandon Palmerston. They headed for Wanganui, leaving their debt to the Government behind them. By this time Caroline was in the latter stages of pregnancy and no doubt this prompted their decision. Martin and Martha Boesen accompanied them.

[Establishment Costs: £12/-. Lot 17 payments: £13/4 June 1873; £6/12 June 1874; £13/4 July 1875]

Johan and Martin found work with the well-known Wanganui settler and politician, Henry Shafto Harrison, of 'Warrengate'. On 16 September 1871, Harrison came to their aid in the face of Government demands. He wrote to the authorities pointing out that the two couples had received only a small portion of their provisions and had arrived at Wanganui with very few clothes and possessions. [The Jacobsens' luggage may have been lost in the flood at Rangiotu.] Harrison felt that under the circumstances they could not then meet the Government's demands. He added that Caroline was about to have a baby and that she had been found a place in the town to give birth. All their wages until that time had been spent remedying these basic needs. He was willing to continue employing them and to arrange the repayment of the loan from their wages, but felt that the charges should be reduced. He said that he considered "these two young men (to be) of very good principles and wishful to meet all their agreements." (N.A.: IM 6/7/1)

Caroline gave birth to her first child, Clara Elizabeth, at Wanganui a short time later, and by 31 January 1872 the couple were back in Palmerston.

It is not certain where they went from there. At time of writing there is some confusion between this Johan Jacobsen and a Norwegian-born man of that name who lived in Palmerston North from the mid-1870s. The Norwegian's wife, also Norwegian-born, was formerly Bolette Mattesen. This couple had married in Christiania on 13 June 1870.

Certainly the Johan Jacobsen from the *England*, was naturalised on 8 January 1887 at Wellington. He died there on 31 July 1915, survived by seven children. Caroline died at Wellington on 28 March 1929, and was survived by three children. (Aminoff: 1172, 1183; Birth Cert. of M.T. Jacobsen born 31/5/1880)

JENS JENSEN

(A single man, probably later husband of Annie Elizabeth Corney)

Jens Jensen, a 21 year old Danish farmer, was allotted Section 418, Lot 66 (28 acres) in Roberts Line but did not take it up.

[Establishment Costs: £9/10. Lot 66 payments: nil]

It is possible that the Jens Jensen from the *England* then disappeared, although there is strong evidence in favour of his being the blacksmith of that name, whose biography follows:-

"J. Jensen, blacksmith," was recorded as a resident of Palmerston in the 1872 'Wellington Almanack', at a time when the town's population was extremely small. This implies that 'our' Jens Jensen certainly had a background as a blacksmith. His trade is the link with the second Jens Jensen, blacksmith. This latter man's Intent to Marry and Death Certificates indicate that he was born in Denmark in about 1851, while 'our' one was born around 1849. It may be that in 1870 he added a year or two to his age to get accepted. The Death Certificate says that he had been in New Zealand 20 years [1873], rather than 22 years. This 'round figure' cannot be guaranteed as Jensen was not the Informant. The 1871 and 1882 signatures attributed to the various Jens Jensens are in different styles, but have some similarities.

The Danish parents of Jensen, the Feilding blacksmith, were Jens Jensen, hotelkeeper, and his wife Elsie Maria Jensen, nee Sorensen. During the 1870s he moved to Awahuri and then to Feilding. In 1882, at the age of 31, he married Annie Elizabeth Corney at Wanganui, the Intent to Marry certificate being dated August 22nd. At that time he had 'lived' in Wanganui for 3 days, while Annie (23) had been there 5 years. The marriage took place at the home of Annie's father, Jeremiah Corney, of Bellstead, Wanganui.

The following extracts from the 'Feilding Star', headed by one from the 'Manawatu Times', provide a valuable chronological insight into his life and also the business career of a blacksmith-farrier. The format has been preserved to provide an insight into the language and detail in newspapers of the day.

MT 19 March 1881 - "DISSOLUTION OF PARTNERSHIP. - The partnership hitherto subsisting between Jens Jensen and Henry Stewart, carrying on a business as wheelwrights and blacksmiths at Awa Huri [Awahuri], under the style of 'Jensen and Stewart,' has this day been DISSOLVED by mutual consent, the said Jens Jensen retiring from the firm and Henry Stewart receiving and paying all claims against the firm. - [signed] Henry Stewart, Jens Jensen. Witness to same: T. Cummins, Awahuri, March 11th, 1881."

[August 1882: Jens and Annie marry at Wanganui.]

15 November 1882 - "Mr J. Jensen, wheelwright and general smith, Feilding, has turned out a first-class tip-tray to the order of Mr J. Belfit. The general workmanship is first-class. The carrying capacity is three tons and the tires of the wheel, 5 inches. Mr Jensen has another dray in hand of a similar kind for a settler in Carnarvon."

7 July 1883 - "TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN. - This is to certify that I have investigated Mr J. Jensen's method of tying up a Horse's feet in order to shoe him and I approve of it for Vicious Horses. - [signed] H. Sample, Professional Horseman." [Note: Professor Sample was an American horsetrainer who was lecturing and demonstrating around the country on gentle methods of handling and breaking-in horses - MT 6/7/1883, 9/7/1883]

24 July 1883 - "The pupils of Professor Sample, as well as others of our readers will be glad to find that Mr Jensen has commenced and will in future pursue the new mode of shoeing laid down by the Professor, for all who may desire it, with no differences in the charges. The method claims to be the safest, most humane, economical and in every way the best, requiring less iron and nails than in the ordinary style. We have no doubt that many will experiment on the Sample style of shoeing, as advertised by Mr Jensen in another column."

14 August 1884 - "Mr J. Jensen, of Feilding, blacksmith, has applied for a patent for a contrivance which, for cheapness and utility, is almost certain to meet with general approval and adoption. The invention consists of a mode for placing a hot water fountain on bars or rails which are securely fixed on a framework of iron. The fountain can be shifted easily and put away on any part of the fire underneath. While the other bars can be used for other purposes. It would be unwise for us to give further particulars until the patent is complete. The model is now on view at Mr Jensen's shop."

21 August 1884 - "We beg to draw the attention of our readers to the new advertisement of Mr J. Jensen, blacksmith, who intimates that he has removed to new premises known as the Vulcan Forge, Kimbolton Road. Mr Jensen is a most enterprising tradesman, and we are pleased to observe that the expansion of his business has made it necessary for him to obtain increased working accommodation."

30 August 1884 - "The combination kitchen boiler and firestand invented by Mr Jensen is rapidly growing in public favour. Orders are coming in so rapidly that the inventor has been compelled to call in the assistance of iron founders in another town to make several of the castings. In another column we publish a certificate from Messrs. Summers and Mayhew, who have one of them in use. We are perfectly satisfied that these will rapidly supersede the old fashioned arrangements which are so cumbrous and unwieldy."

18 September 1884 - "The application of Jens Jensen, blacksmith, of Feilding, for a combination kitchen boiler and firestand, appears in the Government Gazette of the 11th instant."

8 November 1884 - "Jensen's patent boiler and fire bars, have been tried by an experienced person with the most

satisfactory results. Economy of space is added to by economy in firewood. The peculiar shape of the boiler enabling the water to be rapidly brought to a boiling point without any waste of heat. The bars are so conveniently arranged that cooking utensils of all kinds and sizes can be placed on them according to the temperature required for their contents. We strongly recommend the invention to all householders."

2 December 1884 - "We notice that Mr Jensen, with the manufacture of his patent firebars and boilers, that he has had to put on extra hands, and is now occupying not only his new premises - the Vulcan Forge - but also his old shop in Manchester Street."

17 January 1885 - "The combination kitchen boiler and firestand: the champion cooking utensil of the age. - J. Jensen is now prepared to receive orders for the above unrivalled cooking contrivance from town and country settlers, who have only to read the illustrated pamphlet or inspect a sample of the patent at work to be convinced they will want one. The five-gallon boiler, as durable as other tinned holloware now in the trade, is manufactured either of 20 inch Gauge Tinned Iron Plate throughout, or sides and lids of said material, with bottoms of stout copper plate, tinned inside. Boilers with copper bottoms will cost 5 shillings extra, and guaranteed to last at the least, 10 years. Look out for handsomely finished illustrated pamphlet, distributed free. Agents wanted everywhere, Liberal Commission offered. - For terms apply to Mr H. Graff, General Agent, or the proprietor, J. Jensen." [Note: H. Graff was also the one time editor of 'Skandia']

28 February 1885 - "Mr Jensen will send to the Industrial Exhibition, a 'Combination Firestand and Boiler'."

14 May 1885 - "The manufacture of the combination boiler and firestand invented by Mr Jensen of this place, is now one of the recognised industries of Feilding."

28 May 1885 - "Hori Te Matakau was charged on the information of Jens Jensen, with unlawfully assaulting the latter on the 15th instant. The defendant did not appear, Mr Prior for plaintiff. J. Jensen deposed that Hori came to his house and he asked him to go away; he would not, and witness pushed him away, whereupon he struck witness; (Jensen) did not wish a heavy punishment to be inflicted, but only such as would defer defendant from repeating the offence. Fined 5 shillings, costs and Counsel's fee."

23 June 1885 - "A want which has long been felt in the KIWITEA district, is about to be supplied by Mr Jensen, blacksmith of Feilding, who will shortly open a branch shop for shoeing and general smith's work at Cheltenham."

7 August 1886 - "A wire strainer has been patented in Wellington, by the inventors, Messrs. Jensen and Bergersen (q.v.), of Feilding and Palmerston. The inventors claim that their strainers are the cheapest and yet most powerful of any yet made in the world. They will have them on view in about a week."

14 August 1886 - "We had the pleasure yesterday of witnessing at work the new wire strainer, patented by Messrs Jensen and Bergersen. This useful and ingenious invention combines in one instrument - a strainer, hammer, splicer, cutter and staple extractor, the whole weighing only six pounds eight ounces. From what we saw we formed the opinion that it can be worked fifty percent quicker than the ordinary strainers now in use. It has immense power, which is easily controlled. Accompanying the patent are buttons with keys for stopping the wires should staples be dispensed with, and holes bored through the posts. No special knowledge is required to work it and the (most inexperienced) novice could, with its assistance, put up a fence as well and as rapidly as a skilled workman."

15 January 1887 - "A match of farriery took place yesterday, between two rival sons of Vulcan, Mr J. Jensen and Mr J. Taylor, for £10 aside. For workmanship and finish each gained six points, but for speed Mr Jensen made three points extra, therefore he was declared the winner. The judges declared the work on each side to be first class, both being splendid tradesmen."

31 May 1887 - "The patent crab-motioned wire strainer advertised by Mr J. Jensen of Feilding and C.A. Bergersen, of Palmerston North, the patentees, is an invention which will prove a great saver of labour and expense to farmers and land owners. It is of immense power, while at the same time it is handy and easy to carry, being only a few pounds in weight. The patent fasteners are also worthy of special attention, being cheap and easy to apply, combining great strength with

lightness, as they weigh under two ounces. The terms and other particulars may be obtained on application to the patentees at Feilding and Palmerston."

28 July 1887 - "The patent wire strainers of Messrs Jensen, of Feilding, and Bergersen, of Palmerston, are now ready. We saw one yesterday with all the attachments of strainer, hammer, staple extractor, wire splicer, cutter and chisel, with shoulder strap for carrying it conveniently. There is no doubt this is the most useful and complete invention of the kind yet patented. It is light and handy yet of irresistible power, while its price puts it in the reach of everyone."

9 April 1889 - "Mr Jensen, the well known blacksmith and farrier, is going into the flax-mill business."

4 May 1889 - "By advertisement Mr Jens Jensen notifies that he has appointed Mr R. Shannon as his foreman and representative at the Vulcan Forge. Mr Shannon is already well-known in this district as a first class tradesman. All shoeing will be carried on as before by a well-known and experienced man." ALSO "Messrs Jensen and Derby will commence work at their new flaxmill, Oroua Bridge, on Monday."

1 June 1889 - "Mr J. Jensen has, through Messrs Prior and Cooke, intimated to the relief committee that he will present Mrs Morphy with a milch [milking] cow now being used by her."

19 October 1889 - "Mr G.H. Saywell informs us that he has, in connection with his brother, F.J. Saywell, now taken over the smithy and farriery of Mr J. Jensen. All work done will be under their personal supervision. We congratulate Mr Saywell on his enterprise which cannot fail to be successful. Further particulars will be given on Tuesday."

22 October 1889 - "It is intimated today that Messrs Saywell Bros. have taken over the Vulcan Farriery and Shoeing Forge from Mr J. Jensen. We wish the new firm every success, and as they are both well and favourably known in this district, F. Saywell having worked in the Vulcan Forge for about four years, we have no doubt they will do well. The carriage factory of Mr G.H. Saywell will still be carried on in the present premises." ALSO "Mr J. Jensen gives notice today that he has transferred his farriery and blacksmith business to Messrs G. and F. Saywell, and trusts that the latter will receive the same support that he (Mr Jensen) has since he started business in Feilding. Mr Jensen also intimates that all accounts due and owing to him must be paid to Mrs Jensen on or before November 1st, also that all claims against him must be sent in at the same time or they will not be recognised."

12 December 1889 - "FINAL NOTICE. All accounts owing to me must be paid to Mrs J. Jensen before December 31st, or proceedings will be taken for their recovery. - [signed] Jens Jensen."

9 May 1891 - "Mr Jens Jensen, who was for some years in business here as a farrier and blacksmith, has commenced business at Bunnythorpe as a firewood cutter. He has an engine in full work and will advertise his prices in the course of a few days."

1 December 1891 - "A sawmill has been started at Bunnythorpe by Mr J. Jensen." [Note: Evidently this mill was in Reids Line, Bunnythorpe. Water problems soon forced him to abandon the site. (Clevely, 1953: 24)]

12 April 1892 - "His many friends in Feilding will regret to know that Mr J. Jensen, formerly in business here, but who now resides in Bunnythorpe, has been seriously ill for some time, suffering from the after-effects of influenza."

30 April 1892 - "We regret to have to record that Mr Jens Jensen, who once carried on a business in Feilding as a general blacksmith, has been taken to Wanganui Hospital. It will be remembered that Mr Jensen retired from the blacksmith business at the time the flax craze was on, and went into flaxmilling in the Oroua district. It is said that the patient is suffering from an affection of the lungs brought on, no doubt, by exposure."

10 January 1893 - "The death is announced today of Mr Jens Jensen, which took place yesterday in Wanganui, at the residence (Harrison Street) of his wife's mother, Mrs Corney. The funeral will take place tomorrow. Mr Jensen was in business for some years in Feilding as a blacksmith. He leaves a widow and a young family."

Jens' Death Certificate reveals that he died, aged 41 years, from Pernicious Anemia, which had steadily sapped his energy over three years. He was survived by his wife,

Annie, and two daughters, aged 3 years and 6 months. He was buried, as 'James Jensen', at the Old Public Cemetery, Wanganui, on 11 January 1893, the Wesleyan Minister, C.H. Garland, officiating. Possibly his young daughters were Annie St. George Jensen, whose birth was registered at Feilding in late 1889 and Elsie Maria Gwendoline Jensen, whose birth was registered at Wanganui in the spring of 1892.

(Copied from 'Feilding Star' microfilms held at Feilding Public Library, by Ann Hill)

NEILS JENSEN

Neils Jensen (29) was a Danish farmer. He was allotted Section 418, Lot 68, (23 acres) in Roberts Line but did not take it up. He could be Niels Jensen, aged 45, from Denmark and naturalised in Napier on 22 August 1887, stating he was a tailor. Nothing more is known of him.

[Establishment Costs: £9/10. Lot 68 payments: nil]

HANS JORANSEN

Hans Joransen, sometimes erroneously called Jorgensen, sailed for New Zealand as a 25 year old Danish farmer. He was allotted Section 414, Lot 14 (24 acres) on the corner of Napier and Stoney Creek Roads. This is the present Whakarongo School site; and the former site of Whakarongo Shop and Post Office.

[Establishment Costs: £9/10. Lot 14 payments: £8/- May 1873; £4/- June 1874; \$4/- June 1875; £2/5 Nov. 1875. The remainder was probably paid in 1877, after end of Provincial Governments, and their Gazettes.]

By 1890 the property belonged to Thorvald Jenssen. Nothing more is known of Joransen.

CARL EMIL JORGENSEN and FRINE IDA CASSE

The Jorgensens were well-placed to achieve in their new life. Carl was a skilled worker and certainly a hard worker, while Frine Ida was clearly very well educated. They made the most of their chance to build a capital base, before developing their little bush farm at Whakarongo. They had very optimistic plans, but their business, Palmerston North's first 'Toy Warehouse', was a century too early.

Carl Emil Jorgensen was born in Copenhagen, Denmark, about 1836. Frine Ida was also born in Denmark, about 1842. The couple were married in Copenhagen on 9 October 1870, about six weeks before leaving Denmark. Carl (34) was described as a Danish shepherd on the passenger list. He was soon working as a carpenter, a skill he had no doubt also learned well before emigrating. Frine Ida, apparently called 'Ida', was then aged 28. They were allotted Section 414, Lot 13 (30 acres) in Napier Road, which now includes the Whakarongo Hall site.

[Establishment Costs: £12/-. Lot 13 payments: £19/- June 1873; £11/10 June 1876]

Gustav Kindberg wrote to A.F. Halcombe on 18 March 1872, asking if he could take over the Jorgensens' land. It was slightly larger, and at least more accessible than his own. He explained that the couple were about to leave for Denmark. Halcombe responded that as he had no evidence that the Jorgensens were leaving, this could not be done. However he took the precaution of telegraphing the Minister of Public Works to see if the Jorgensens should be summonsed for the money they owed. (N.A.: IM 6/7/1)

Although they did not then depart for Denmark, the Jorgensens were amongst those families who soon abandoned Palmerston, if only temporarily. Frine Ida is almost certainly the "Mrs Ida Johnson (or Jorgensen)," who ap-



Carl Emil and Frine 'Ida' Jorgensen in 1871, their affectionate image preserved in the Snelson Scrapbook. Carl made his mark in early Palmerston North as a builder and shopkeeper, while the multi-lingual Ida was probably the best educated of these 1871 women immigrants. (Palmerston North Public Library)

plied for the position of teacher at the new Dannevirke School in January 1873. At that time she was described as a Danish woman who had formerly been settled in Palmerston. She and her husband had by then moved to Hawkes Bay. She could speak English, French, German and Danish, and must have been a great asset to her community - especially to the womenfolk. Women had far less access than their husbands to the English-speaking New Zealand society. At the end of May she was notified by John Davies Ormond, the Superintendent of Hawkes Bay, that her application had been successful. Her husband "Mr Johnson" replied on 27 May 1873 that it was "with the greatest joy received I your letter. We will make us ready so quick we can; we hope to be down in Daniverk in one or two weeks." (Davidson: 74-7)

In May 1873 the couple were living at Porongahau Station, the 15,000 acre sheep station of the Hunter family, which in 1872 had been running 22,779 Merino sheep. At this time [24/5/1873] Carl sent his first payment for Lot 13. Mr David Hunter, who co-managed the station, arranged for the Money Order to be sent. (N.A.: IM 6/7/1; MacGregor: 182-4)

When Ida arrived at the new school it was not yet complete. It consisted of one room to teach in and a second room with no windows, where the couple were to live! Despite this, early in July 1873 she began teaching her 28 pupils. In October 1873 Ormond reported to the Minister of Immigration, that the pupils at Dannevirke were not learning English quickly enough. He suggested that it might be better if they replaced "Mrs Johnson" with an English woman. However the following month "Mrs Johnson" was forced to resign due to ill-health. Possibly she was pregnant. Following her departure, the children were without a teacher, and thus a school, for well over a year. (Davidson: 74-7) No schooling at all was apparently considered preferable to having children taught in a language they understood.

It is not known when the Jorgensen family returned to the Manawatu, although they seem to have been back by mid-1876. They lost their eldest son, who could only have been two or three years old, at that time. The little boy had a broken leg and added to his misfortunes by chopping the end off his finger. The pain and shock the youngster suffered caused him to cry "so excessively that he burst a blood vessel." (MT 12/3/1881) He was probably Carl Christian Jorgensen, who died at Palmerston North in 1876.

They were certainly back at Stoney Creek in January 1877, at which time Carl attended a meeting to nominate the local Ward candidate for the area. (MT 7/2/1877) Clearly he was interested in local activities. He became a



Carl Jorgensen built the original Stoney Creek School in 1877, at the damp old site then known as 'Bullocky Bend'. In 1879 the teacher's cottage was built, very likely also by Jorgensen. In 1902 the school building was moved to the present Whakarongo School site, on the corner of Stoney Creek and Napier Roads. This photo [1991] shows the old Stoney Creek School teacher's cottage, still on its original Napier Road site. The old school grounds are now the well-known Whakarongo landmark, the car-wrecker's yard. (Val Burr)

foundation School Committee member for the Stoney Creek School in August 1877.

Carl won the tender to build the original Stoney Creek School in early 1877, for £136/17/5. This building still exists, but is now in Koehlers Lane. The original school site [1877-1902] was near what was then called 'Bullocky Bend,' and is now the old car-wrecker's yard.

In November 1877, Mr J.H. Snelson's newly-opened ironmongery and grocery shop in Main Street was totally destroyed by fire, threatening a neighbouring building in the process. Carl was one of nearly 100 people who worked frantically to save that building, which belonged to Mr Warburton. A line of men passed buckets of water from the well, through the house, up the stairs, out the dormer window and along the roof. The water was then dashed against the house's smouldering eastern gable wall. Carl was reported as the last member of this chain [having relieved fellow-Dane, L.G. West] - and was sitting astride the gable-end. With his only protective equipment being a wet blanket draped over his head, he worked desperately, emptying the water down the "charred and smoking" woodwork, only a few feet from the roaring wall of flames. Along with his companions, in and on the smoke-filled, highly combustible house, he was able to maintain this very dangerous position until the fire next door was under control. (MT 14/11/1877, 28/11/1877) [Note: J.H. Snelson is thought to be the brother of George Snelson]

In January 1879 Carl advertised Lot 13 for sale. It now consisted of 32 acres (sic) and a well-built six-roomed house. He asked £450 for the property [which nine years earlier had cost £30/10/-] and was willing to take £200 cash with the balance in "easy installments." (MT 8/1/1879) It is not known who bought the property, but by 1890 it [and Lot 14] belonged to Thorvald Jenssen, brother of Frits Jenssen, co-owner of Richter, Nannestad & Co. The large and very old house on the property, which Carl may have built, was demolished in recent years, with the chimneys and some later extensions still standing.

On 26 November 1879 an item, titled 'Truth Stranger than Fiction' appeared in the 'Manawatu Times'. It resulted from a scenario probably typical of many families from which members had emigrated. Ida's brother had left Denmark and run away to sea as a 12 year old child. He had not been seen or heard from by the family since he was 16 years old, apart from a report that he had been seen in Queensland. When the Jorgensens arrived in New Zealand, they had made extensive inquiries as to his whereabouts, including placing advertisements in all the main Australian newspapers - but to no avail.

The brother, Mr Casse, who was by then 34, had wandered the world as a seaman, before becoming a miner at Kumara, on the West Coast. At that time he finally decided to make contact with his family back in Denmark. He placed advertisements in the Danish papers, and a paper carrying his advertisement in due course made its way to Sweden, where the young child of a Swedish relative noticed it. The parent of this child then wrote one letter to the man at Kumara and another to the Jorgensens. On receipt of these, the two recipients made a hasty and excited contact by telegraph. The report added that the brother was now en route to Palmerston North to visit the sister he had not seen for at least 18 years.

In the Palmerston North Borough Council Rating year of 1879-80, Carl appears as owner of Section 47, Allotment 2, on the north side of Main Street, between Albert Street and Victoria Avenue. At this property occurred the second accident known to have struck the children of the family - fortunately with less tragic consequences than the first. The couple's three year old, only surviving son, whose name was not given, had climbed to the top of the paling fence outside their Main Street home. Suddenly he slipped, catching his leg between the palings and breaking the leg. This brought back frightening memories to the family and community of the earlier death, which also involved a broken leg. (MT 12/3/1881)

Two other children of the couple are known. Petra [born 16/6/1880] and Jensine Caroline [born 22/5/1882] both appear in the christening records of All Saints Church, Palmerston North.

In August 1881 Carl built a "commodious shop" in Main Street, causing the newspaper to note that gaps in that street were filling up. This shop was opened by Christmas 1881, with the advertisement announcing that they had just received a number of toys and fancy gifts for sale as Christmas presents. (MT 31/8/1881, 14/12/1881) By 1883 [the 1882 newspapers being lost] the shop had been moved to premises in the Square, to part of Section 674, about where the 'Evening Standard' building now is. This shop was known officially as 'Jorgensen's Exhibition', but was also referred to by others as "Jorgensen's Toy Warehouse." In March 1883 they advertised that a large variety of toys and useful goods were to be offered at cost price. New stock from Germany was soon to arrive. (MT 5/3/1883, 20/3/1883)

Unfortunately Palmerston North was not yet ready for such a specialty shop and by July the business was in deep trouble. Its assets, the stock and freehold on two shops, and the attached dwellings, were to be auctioned by George Snelson, who was owed £26. On the day of the intended sale (2/8/1883) the Wellington-based creditors announced their refusal to consent to the sale and the auction was



The Jorgensens' 'Toy Exhibition' shop, also known as the 'Toy Warehouse', soon after its forced sale to W. Dixon & Co., in late 1883. It was burnt down in April 1891. This photo shows the section of the Square between Fitzherbert Avenue and All Saints Church. (Palmerston North Public Library)

cancelled. Two lengthy, but apparently quite light-hearted meetings of their creditors were held. These developed into a "cheerful" debate between the 'Jew and Gentile' creditors, Nathan & Co., who were owed £65, being in the former category. Carl may have had quite a 'well-fed' appearance by then, judging by a creditor's response to Snelson's remark that he had been "keeping him alive." (MT 26/7/1883, 2/8/1883, 11/8/1883, 18/8/1883)

The creditors elected George Snelson and Frits Jenssen as Trustees of the estate and called for tenders for its sale. Evidently enough property was sold to return the business to some degree of viability, as on 19 September "Mrs" Jorgensen recommenced business on their "old premises", selling millinery, fancy goods [including 'lustres' and vases] and toys. This was presumably the earlier Main Street shop [part of Section 29, north side of Main Street, between Princess Street and Victoria Avenue] as their former premises in the Square were to shortly reopen as Mr Dixon's painting and decorating shop. This building, with its new tenant, was sold to Nathan & Co for £570, seemingly clearing the Jorgensen family's debts with ease. (31/8/1883, 19/9/1883, 28/9/1883, 10/10/1883, 10/11/1883)

On 17 December 1883 Ida advertised in the 'Manawatu Times' that they were selling up the entire stock from the shop and also the building, with its large garden, as they were moving to Dannevirke. The Palmerston North Borough Council Rate Books confirm their departure at this time. Possibly they later left New Zealand. Nothing more is known of them.

GUSTAV ARON KINDBERG and MATHILDA JOHANNESDOTTER

(Gustav arrived as a single man and met Mathilda in N.Z.)

Gustav Kindberg (24), a Swede, was described as a Danish farmer when he sailed for New Zealand. His biography was included in 'EARLY MANAWATU SCANDINAVIANS' (Skandia I), page 27; however, to help that story conform to the format of the others now covered, some further relevant information has been added. Also, the following important details were omitted from the earlier article's text and bibliography: (1) Gustav was born 20 August 1846, at Redslared, Alvsborg, Sweden. His parents were Samuel Kindberg and Johanna, nee Eriksdotter. John Kindberg, who died in Taihape in 1914, was possibly his brother. (Aminoff 1561, 1562, 1290); (2) The oral source was Mrs Lyne Kindberg of New Plymouth (by letter) and the family's published source was Mary Jane Anderson's family book 'To Courage - A Daughter', the memoirs of Emma O'Donnell, nee Kindberg, based on interviews in 1985.

Gustav was allotted Section 418, Lot 69 (23 acres) in Roberts Line, but did not take it up. On 18 March 1872 he wrote to A.F. Halcombe asking permission to buy Carl Jorgensen's property, Lot 13, as he understood the

Jorgensens intended to return to Denmark. (N.A.: IM 6/7/1) When this fell through, Gustav turned to Section 424 in Rangitikei Line, which he purchased by deferred payment.

[Establishment Costs: £9/10. Lot 69 payments: nil. Section 424 payments: £36/8 Nov. 1872; £36/8 Feb. 1875; the remainder of Section 424 was paid for by a new owner, Nils Nilsson - £36/8, Jan. 1876 and the balance Jan. 1877 = £145/12/-]

Gustav made his first appearance in the Minutes of the Manawatu Road Board on 12 December 1876, unsuccessfully tendering for a roading contract. It was known that he purchased one of the 40 acre Karere Scandinavian Block farms at about this time, and a notice in the 'Manawatu Times' (27/11/1878) has revealed that this was Section 14, Lot 2 of the Karere Block, at Longburn. This farm was formerly owned by Carl Bergersen, who had moved to Palmerston North. The notice was to warn contractors felling bush on the adjoining 'Gascoigne's Line' [now Rongotea Road], of the consequences of accidentally setting fire to dry felled bush on his property.

The 'missing' Bunnythorpe-Kelvin Grove farm, described by Emma O'Donnell, was Section 542 [70 acres] and part [about 20 acres] of Section 1534, of the Town of Bunnythorpe. This stretched between Roberts Line and the section of the original Railway Road, which is now the by-passed 'No Exit' side-road, Midhurst Street. The area is part of Kelvin Grove and is quite close to the old Kelvin Grove School site.

The family purchased this property from Franz Hoffman in 1887. The previous year Hoffman had applied for a railway crossing from Railway Road onto the property. Apparently the railway crossing issue had not been resolved, as in 1888, Gustav also wrote to the Board on the matter. He was told that as it was a private crossing he must apply to the Railways Department himself. The old farm entrance is probably the remnant of a crossing near where Midhurst Street crosses the old railway line site, or even the road-crossing itself. In 1889 this property was valued at £750. (M.R.B. Minutes: 7/7/1886, 6/5/1887, 12/11/1888; M.R.B. Rates Book 1889-90).

Less well-documented in the earlier article was Gustav's Swedish-born wife, Matilda Johannesdotter. She had arrived at Napier on the *Hovding*, in 1872, with her parents and two younger brothers. When aged about 18, she left Norsewood to care for children at Palmerston North. Possibly these were the children of Johan and Helene Andreassen (q.v.), at whose home she and Gustav Kindberg married in 1877. Her employer is recalled as drinking beer sometimes. He would then send the empty bottles back to the kitchen. One day Matilda decided to taste some leftovers, only to be caught by her employer - who laughed!

Matilda's children had special memories of her cooking, including bread made in a four-legged camp oven, rabbit pie, wood-pigeon pie, 'fat' cakes and cheese. Her daughter, Emma, recalled that she was not so successful with butter which tended to go rancid, although they did trade some for groceries.

Matilda remained in New Zealand in 1911, when her not-so-thoughtful husband visited his sister in Gothenburg, Sweden. One of the things he returned with was a new stove for Matilda.

Gustav died at Stratford on 4 September 1912, aged 66. He had developed appendicitis and could not face the prospect of the life-saving operation. Matilda died in Auckland on 20 October 1928, aged 71.

(Family source:- Matilda Hickey, New Plymouth. Also Mary Jane Anderson's 'To Courage - A Daughter'.)



Gustav and Matilda [Mathilda] Kindberg. The long-suffering Matilda coped both with bearing fifteen children, and also with numerous moves to remote areas of the North Island, as her husband sought better farms. (Matilda Hickey)

HANS PETTER LARSEN

Hans Petter Larsen (28) sailed for New Zealand as a Danish farmer. He was allotted Section 418, Lot 71 (23 acres) in Roberts Line, but did not take it up. He paid £4 on the property at an early stage and then disappeared.

[Establishment Costs: £9/10. Lot 71 payments: nil]

JORGEN CHRISTIAN LARSEN

Jorgen Christian Larsen (34) was a Danish farmer. He was allotted Section 416, Lot 54 (23 acres) in James Line but did not take it up. Ann Margarite Larsen (q.v.), also on the *England*, may have been a relative. Nothing more is known about either of them.

[Establishment Costs: £9/10. Lot 54 payments: nil]

LAS LASSEN and CHRISTINE ANDERSEN BAK (*Las arrived as a single man and met Christine in New Zealand*)

Las Lassen, sometimes erroneously called Lars Larsen, was only 17 years old when he headed for New Zealand in 1870, described as a farmer. He had been born 22 September 1851, on Als, an island off the coast of North Schleswig. He grew up in a farming environment and was soon to show his value as a settler, despite his youth. He is understood to have emigrated because of the Prussian invasion of Schleswig-Holstein in 1864, and its possible consequences.



Las Lassen in 1871, from the Snelson Scrapbook. (Palmerston North Public Library)

He was allotted Section 415, Lot 15 (25 acres) on the corner of Napier and Stoney Creek Roads. The actual amount he paid is uncertain. He was granted title to it in 1877.

[Establishment Costs: £9/10. Lot 15 payments: £8/- May 1873; £4/- June 1874; £4/- May 1875; (= £9/- balance owing)]

Las, and some of the other more youthful passengers were soon disillusioned by Manawatu's winter and employment conditions. By August 1871, he and four others had set off over the "hill track", bound for Hawkes Bay Province, where they hoped to find work. (NA: IM 6/7/1) After a few months in Napier Las went to Dannevirke, where he was employed on contract work.

Despite Las's youth and his early departure from the Manawatu, albeit temporarily, he managed to generate a significant collection of letters regarding his land. It seems that his departure was regarded as rather opportune by people planning the Hawkes Bay-Wanganui railway. By October 1871 the District Engineer, J.T. Stewart, had begun to map a railway route which would have travelled west along Napier Road from the Gorge. Where it crossed the 'Stoney Creek' beside Lot 15, it would turn north across Lot 15 [approximately through the present hayshed - which Las built] and then follow Stoney Creek Road to Bunnythorpe. Lot 15 was intended to become a Railway Reserve.

Unfortunately for the organisers, on 1 February 1872 Las arrived back in the Manawatu and was shocked to find that his land was being spirited away in his absence. He had been paying a man to cut bush there. On 3 February he had someone write to the Government on his behalf, in rather erratic English, advising that the Provincial Secretary, A.F. Halcombe, had told him the previous November that he had until February 1872 to make arrangements regarding his land. The surveyors had already 'taken' from his land, a length of the road frontage alongside Stoney Creek Road [from Napier Road to the Terrace hill] in October 1871. The amount required was 3.5 acres, and included the area which had been cleared. J.T. Stewart claimed the extra value the railway placed on Lot 15 would "more than compensate" for the loss of land. Las was only expected to pay for the acreage he received.

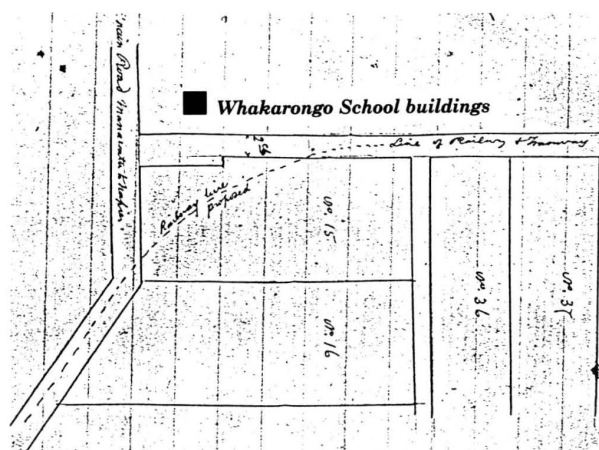
It seems that Las was unaware of the situation and the planned encroachment of the road alongside his property. However by the time of his letter to John Knowles, the Under-Secretary of the Public Works Department on 27 August 1872, he was quickly catching on.

"I am surprised, after receiving your letter of the 14th of February, stating that I should not be dispossessed of my land, that 2.5 acres (sic) has this day been taken from me. I have fallen the bush and made other improvements, I have paid the first instalment of money and it is very hard to take any portion from me without recompensing me. I am told that I shall only be paid the current rate of bush-felling for the piece now taken from me. Will you try and give me justice? I have paid every claim that the Government has against me for tools and I think a steady and good emigrant I am. No-one can make any complaint against me. Will you please write me by the mail? I am now unsettled (as to) what to do. - Yours obediently, Las Lassen."

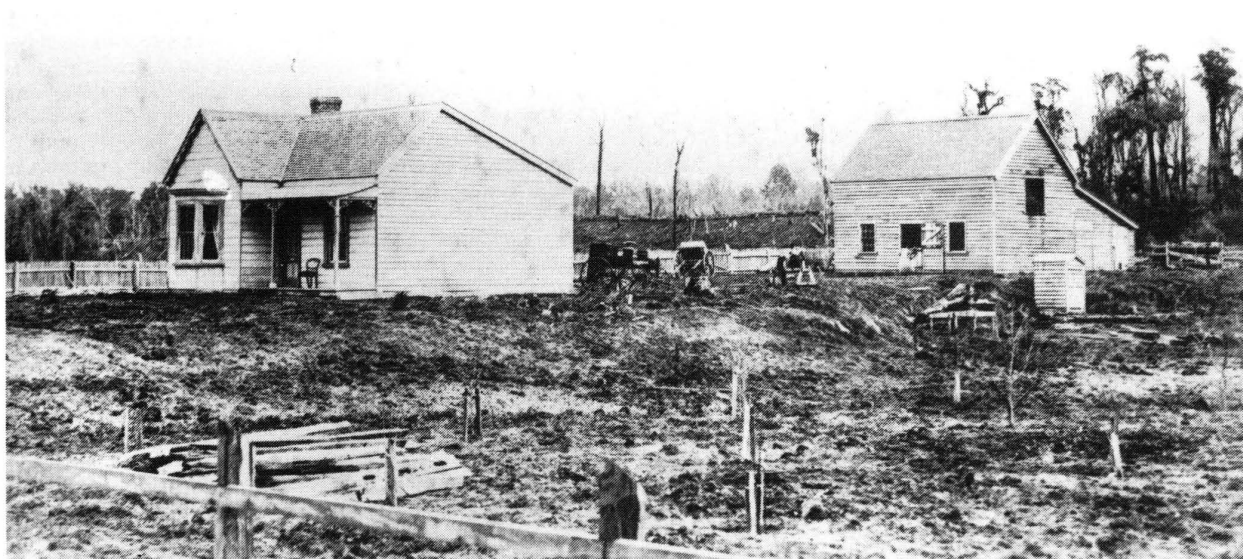
J.T. Stewart wrote a cover note, now supporting his right to receive compensation.

On 4 October 1872 Las offered to sell the 3.5 acres back to the Government for £15. Stewart recommended that this amount be paid although the bush-felling was only worth £2/10/- while the land itself cost £3/10/-. Its value on the open market was £15. The loss of 3.5 acres from a 25 acre property would be significant. On 26 October 1872 authorisation was given to pay Las the £15 compensation. The railways went ahead some years later, by the route which cut across the property on the top of the Terrace. (NA: IM 6/7/1)

Las is understood to have been working in sawmills in the Dannevirke area when he met his future wife, Chris-



John T. Stewart's map of the proposed route of the Hawkes Bay-Wanganui Railway, via Bunnythorpe, as at 28 October 1871. This route followed Napier Road to the bridge east of Stoney Creek Road, before cutting through Las Lassen's property, which Stewart wished to make into a railway reserve. Stoney Creek Road is still extra wide as a result of being surveyed with this purpose in mind. When the line was eventually built, it continued into Palmerston North, at the top of the Terrace, rather than on the floodprone Napier Road. (National Archives of New Zealand: IM 6, 7/1)



A very early photo of the Lassens' house and barn [both of which are still standing] shows the heavily bushed terrace and the partially cleared Whakarongo School site. The grounds surrounding the house appear bare, with newly planted trees supported by stakes. The photo was taken around 1880, and the sodden state of the land may indicate that it was taken soon after the major flood of April 1880. (Ivan Vautier)

tine. Probably this was a pit-sawing concern, as the first engine-operated sawmill was not established there until 1883. The couple were married on 19 August 1876, in the Dannevirke Schoolhouse, which was then also serving as the Lutheran Church.

Christine had come to New Zealand as a 12 year old on the *Ballarat* in 1872, with her parents Jacob and Karen Andersen Bak. The family had settled at Dannevirke. Christine [christened 'Kirstine'] had been born at Sejerslev, Mors Island, Denmark, on 7 August 1860.

It is uncertain when the couple moved to Lot 15, although they were there in early 1877 when Las unsuccessfully tendered for a roading contract. (MHB 13/4/1877)

On 25 May 1879 Las assisted when Nils C. Christiansen's (q.v.) Napier Road home was burnt down. (MT 3/4/1879; McLennan: 31)

After several years living upstairs in the hayshed, Las built the house which, now substantially enlarged, is the home of Mr and Mrs Ivan Vautier. This property is fairly unique in that not only do both the old house and hayshed survive, but photographs of them when new also remain. On 26 April 1882 the new house was used for the wedding of Christine's sister, Maren Andersen Bak, and Lauritz Hermansen, both from Dannevirke.

Las' obituary states that he worked on the railway between Palmerston North and Ashhurst. He also obtained a £280, three-year maintenance contract to work on Napier Road in April 1886. At the end of his contract in 1889 his deposit was returned to him, indicating his work had been done to the Road Board's satisfaction. (MRB Minutes: 7/4/1886: 54, 11/2/1889: 257)

The Lassen family owned Lot 15 until about 1889; the 1889-90 Manawatu Highways Board Rate Book substitutes S.C. Sly's name as Lot 15's new owner. Las then purchased a property in Dixons Line, Bunnythorpe, opposite the rugby grounds.

Las made two trips back to Denmark to see his family - the first, by himself, about 1890. His widowed mother had remarried a Mr Jepsen and on this trip Las brought back his half-sister, Helene Dorothea Jepsen. She found work as a maid to the widower Frits Jenssen, no doubt helping with his two very young daughters. Jenssen was a co-owner of

Richter, Nannestad & Co. His brother, Thorvald Jenssen, with his large family mainly of girls, then owned Scandinavian Block Lots 13 and 14, and so had been neighbours of the Lassens for a year or two prior to the latter's departure to Bunnythorpe. Their Napier Road property also bordered Stoney Creek Road. [Note: Frits Jenssen sold his home and moved to Napier about 1890. His daughters were by then almost certainly living with their Aunt and Uncle at the Whakarongo property.]

One day a young man named Wilhelm Wiggo Moller arrived from Denmark and appeared at the Jenssen home with a letter of introduction for the Jenssens. The maid and the new arrival met, and were married on 3 August 1891. The couple moved to Hawkes Bay and later went into business in Taranaki. The well-known firm, Moller Motors, traces to this family. [It is noteworthy that Anna, the Danish-born wife of Frits Jenssen's partner, Jacob Nannestad, was formerly a Moller. Anna's accomplished family lived in Palmerston North for some years.]

After Las returned to New Zealand, he and the family developed the bush-covered Bunnythorpe farm. He also took time out to be naturalised and this was completed on 23 October 1890. His obituary described him as "an ideal farmer who took great pride in his holding, having worked hard in improving a section that was at one time in a very rough state."

Tragedy struck the family on 12 April 1897. Las and 18 year old Peter headed to the Aorangi Bridge, over the Oroua River, near Feilding, to get gravel from the river bed. After selecting the ideal place to collect it, Peter returned for the dray, which had been left in the space between the road and the railway. Possibly the horses were startled or were simply off course; either way, the dray hit a post protecting the bridge, and overturned into a ditch. The horses were overturned also. Peter was trapped under the dray and killed instantly. This was the situation Las found when he rode back to see what was detaining them. A Lutheran Church service, in Danish, was held at the house, before the Methodist service at the Church. The local school children formed a double line from the church to the road to honour their friend. (FS 12,13,14 & 20/4/1897)

The second trip Las made back to Denmark occurred in 1907. On this trip Las took their daughter, Mary, while Christine, whose family ties were now in New Zealand, again stayed home with the other children and the farm. A large social gathering of church members and friends was held at the Methodist Church, Bunnythorpe, in honour of the pair. Mr A.J. Arnold, who presided, remarked on the high esteem in which Las was held by those present, as an ardent worker and supporter of the church. "Although not

a man of many words, he showed by his actions that he had the interest of the church at heart, and was an example to all as a man of sterling worth, a good settler and a successful farmer." Arnold also spoke of Mary, who was involved in church activities, as well as being a highly respected assistant teacher at the Taonui School. Las was presented with a silver headed walking stick, and Mary with a Bible. (ES 30/3/1907)

Las told the gathering that since coming to New Zealand over 30 years earlier, he had never regretted the step, considering New Zealand to be "the best country in the world." He had worked hard and, thanks to the dairy industry, was able to take the trip home with his daughter. He intended to study the dairy industry in Britain and Denmark. Mary, who had just been appointed assistant-teacher at Bunnythorpe School, was to visit schools in England, Denmark and Germany, gaining information to benefit her future work. They then caught the *Moeraki* for Sydney, where they transferred to the *Omrah*, for England. The trip was expected to last six months. (FS 28/3/1907)

The 'Feilding Star' of 7 December 1907 published the results of Las' study. This article provides an extremely valuable set of comparisons and impressions regarding New Zealand and Denmark. It follows this biography.

Jean Thompson, granddaughter of Las and Christine, has recorded many memories of the Lassen family. One relates to their mischievous and quick-witted son Albert. He had gone out without permission, and after discovering he was missing, Las headed up the road to Bunnythorpe to bring him home. While walking home in the dark, Albert discovered his father coming toward him. Without flinching he tipped his cap, said "Good evening Mr Lassen", and walked on home, leaving his father to search the village for him.

Christine Lassen was a very capable and hospitable woman, who entertained freely, especially those of Scandinavian descent with ties also to the Brethren and Lutheran Churches. Sundays were always guest days and family members sometimes resented having to be on their best behaviour. The outside 'long-drop' was always a centre of amusement. The clothes line was attached to it, and a pull on the line would cause a hurried retreat from the toilet by guests announcing, "Feel that dreadful earthquake?" or on other occasions, "Mrs Lassen, did you know you had rats out there?" The 'rats' were a piece of toi-toi.

Las died after a long illness on 6 March 1925, aged 73 years. His obituary says that while he had not taken a very active part in public affairs, he had at one time been a member of the Bunnythorpe School Committee and at the time of his death was a member of the Bunnythorpe Domain and Cemetery Board. He had "always been willing to assist by donations, any movement for the welfare of the district," and was very highly thought of in the district. He had taken a keen interest in the Bunnythorpe Dairy Company, as can be seen from his contribution to the industry. He was survived by his wife, eight daughters, three sons and eighteen grandchildren. (ES 7/3/1925)

Jean remembers her grandmother vividly. Her father, Gordon, was the youngest child, who later looked after his widowed mother and worked the family farm from his own home in Bunnythorpe. Christine used to sit her devoted young granddaughter on her knee and sing in Danish the hymn "Jesus Loves Me." The relationship was a little less joyous when Jean got the scissors and cut off her sleeping grandmother's bun! She still recalls the hiding she got.

Mary, whose first husband had died, passed away in 1930, being survived by four children and her second husband. Two sons were then brought up by their grandmother. One of these, Ernie Crane, now living in England, recalled the great social and economic transformation in the family's way of life in the late 1920s. Until about 1928 dairying had been their main source of income. When the girls were still at home, up to five of them were to be found milking up to 100 cows, twice daily. By the time Ernie went

there, the huge cowshed had been converted into a woolshed. A modern cowshed was by then machine-milking only about 30-40 cows. He recalled the team of four Clydesdale horses pulling a three-furrow plough and feeding from their nosebags at the stables. Each morning a smaller horse pulled the milk dray to the nearby Glaxo factory.

Ernie recalled stories of the family travelling to town in their four-wheeled coach, with its plush velvet seats, and pulled by two white horses. By his time the coach was stored away and covered with dust. A gleaming black Nash limousine was housed in the new carshed. He also remembered the farm machinery and the transition from horse-drawn and hand-powered motive power, to traction engines and tractors. He recalled his duties as 'housemaid' - being roused by his grandmother at 5am to do various domestic chores, and also being relieved of burial duties for the contents of the 'longdrop' [or should that be 'shortdrop'?] each week, when the new flush toilet was installed in the bathroom in 1932. He recalled, with rather more relish, the Danish recipes that his grandmother prepared - 'frikadellars' or meatballs, and a sago-like gruel with a name like 'stigesbuerie'. She was never a competent reader of English and preferred the radio. There was a radio in the household from the earliest days of radio reception in the district.

Christine died at the Dixon Line property on 23 November 1944, aged 84 years. Her obituary says that her "main hobby was her garden, roses being her favourite flower, and the surroundings of the homestead were admired by many visitors." (ES 25/11/1944)

The couple had fifteen children. Their first two children, both named Peter, were born at Dannevirke. The first Peter, born 1877, died at the Stoney Creek property around New Year 1878, during a whooping-cough epidemic. (MT 5/1/1878) The second Peter was born in 1879, and died in 1897. It is known that the couple's first home on Lot 15, was the loft of the barn Las built. While a reasonably 'comfortable' home, it would have been extremely difficult to scramble up the vertical wall-ladder in advanced pregnancy. The next five were born at Stoney Creek:- Ellen [1881]; Maria Jacobine, called 'Mary' [1883]; Annie [1885]; Christian, called 'Chris' [1887] and Albert [1888]. Eight more were born at Bunnythorpe:- Sine [1890]; Ada [1892]; Dorothea, called 'Dot' [1895]; Lucy [1896]; Lily Petre [1898]; Vera [1899]; George [March 1901] and Gordon [1903]. Lily Petre died on 9 May 1899, aged 9 months; George died on 30 November 1902, aged 20 months. Las and Christine are buried together at Bunnythorpe Cemetery, along with Peter [II]; Lily Petre and George.

Jean Thompson and her husband Stan purchased the family farm when her father's health forced him to retire. They finally sold it in 1990 and moved to Palmerston North, leaving behind a farm and a home filled with many memories.

(Abridged from family story compiled by Jean Thompson, Palmerston North and based on her limited edition book 'Families Like Trees Grow', (P.N., 1992). This book covers the Lassen family history and genealogy, including a section on the Moller family. Also memories recorded in January 1993 by Ernie Crane, England. Additional early newspaper and archival research by V.A. Burr.)

BUTTER OUR CHIEF COMPETITOR A TRIP TO DENMARK

Some Wrinkles from the Old World
£17,000,000 a year for Produce.

(Reprinted from the 'Feilding Star' 7 December 1907)

A short time ago one of the oldest and most industrious residents of Bunnythorpe, Mr Las Lassen, returned from a trip he had taken to the Old World, and particularly to his native country, Denmark, but we were unable to gratify our natural curiosity as to the result of the investigations we know he intended to make, until

yesterday. Mr Lassen has a dairy farm close to Bunbythorpe Railway Station, which he and his family have worked successfully for some years. He also has taken some considerable personal interest in the dairy factory question, and thoroughly understands what he talks about.

Accompanied by his daughter, Miss [Mary] Lassen, he left Sydney in the *Omrah*, reaching England on 18th May last. They spent some time in England and Scotland, seeing the sights, and then went to Denmark, the country which has gained pre-eminence in the dairy industry, and which continues to hold its own, despite the great natural advantages New Zealand has over it as a competitor.

It was in July last that Mr Lassen was in Denmark, and so his statistics are right up to date. In regard to the volume of trade done between Denmark and England, it is well to point out that for the half-year ending June last 159,849 cwt. of butter a month was exported to England from Denmark, as against 159,681 cwt. in the corresponding period of 1896, the values being £845,491 a month in 1907 and £827,228 last year. Besides that 159,439 cwt. of bacon, of a value of £493,679, was exported to England for the first six months of this year, as against 119,404 cwt., worth £357,491, the previous year. In the six months from 1st January to 30th June this year, England paid Denmark £8,622,905 for produce, as against £7,787,846 for the same period the previous year, or an average yearly volume of trade of over £17 million. And this for a country a third the size of New Zealand!

In answer to the inquiry as to how many Danish farmers made the dairy industry pay, Mr Lassen said that the actual production of butter did not pay at all, as the expense of feeding the cows was so heavy - it was the by-products the money was made out of, such as the fattening of pigs and calves, and the sale of beef.

Mr Lassen was fortunate in having a brother who owned a farm, which was worked by a nephew, and it was through him that he was able to gain information as to the workings of the land and the profits made. In regard to the factories, he was surprised to find that although in some respects they were ahead of those in the colony, in regard to labour saving machinery they were much behind, but they were fortunate to be able to obtain plenty of cheap labour. A factory which would employ two hands out here, would be worked in Denmark with five - two men and three women - and the total wages would be about the same. Then factories were established there for a comparatively small supply of milk; in fact what would be sufficient for a creamery here, would be sufficient for a factory in Denmark. (1)

The (milk) testing there is being done by quite a different method to that in the colony. The Babcock tester has been thrown out as out of date, and replaced with a method by which 200 tests can be taken out at one time. (2) The milk is taken out of the cans and the test made immediately. By the method adopted the manager has no idea whose milk he is testing, the record (of suppliers) being kept by two suppliers, and by a simple mechanical device the test is registered as the butterfat is measured. The test is made at odd times, about four times a month, and there is no fear of advantage being taken of its infrequency as a supplier who waters his milk is debarred from sending his milk to any factory in the country, a penalty heavy enough to ensure honesty.

A system of carting the milk to the factory by contract is adopted. This is necessary as a number of suppliers only milk two or three cows, and the factory carts call at each place for the milk to take it to the factory, thus minimising the expense. (3) Pasteurization of the milk is compulsory, and it has proved very beneficial in raising the standard of the butter.

A great drawback in the dairy industry is the cost of housing and feeding the cattle. For at least nine months of the year they have to be fed inside, the principal food being oatcakes, mangels, and a root something like a Kohlrabi. (4) A friend of his told him that it cost him £5 last year for oatcakes alone - per cow! He said it had been nine months Winter and three months "Not Summer!" The farmers arrange for the cows to come into profit [calve] at the beginning of Winter - equivalent to our Spring - and so they are able to get the dearest market in England. In many places the factories only made 5 cwt. of butter a day, while a 15 cwt. factory was looked on as a big concern. Mr Lassen showed us a couple of balance sheets of butter factories, from which we gathered that they netted £-1/1/2d and £-1/2/5d per pound for their butter. It was quite a common thing for a supplier to take 70lb of skim milk and 20lb of butter milk, instead of 90lb of skim milk, the skim milk left being made up into a kind of cheese which sold for 2.5d per pound in Germany.

The breeds of cow used were mainly two kinds:- Holland cows of a yellow and white or dirty black colour, very much like Holsteins (5); and a Danish red cow. They were large beasts, giving good milk

and selling well as beef when their milking days were done. Although he saw Jerseys (6) at a show, the farmers would not have them at any price, as they yielded too little beef.

Mr Lassen visited one Agricultural Show at Jutland, the exhibits comprising mostly cows, bulls, horses - and in great quantities - live rabbits! (7) There was also a great butter competition, 185 factories having exhibits entered, and the standard of quality being very high. There were hardly any sheep or poultry exhibited - in fact he saw very few sheep at all in Denmark.

During his stay there he met Mr J. Bundén, who had been ploughman for Mr Dear of Kairanga and who had taken up a farm in Denmark. He was making a fairly good living, but not saving any money and he said that if it were not for his age, he would come out to the Dominion again and make a fresh start.

It was rather a startler to find that nearly all the farmers used margarine instead of butter, it was too expensive a luxury to indulge in the real thing!

When Mr Lassen told his folk that he had killed 50 calves directly they were calved on his Bunbythorpe farm last year, he was looked upon as a romanticist of a very high order. And this will be understood when it is seen how profitable a thing calf-rearing is in Denmark. He showed us account sales of some calves which had been sold by his nephew. They were calved on 4th March [1907] and purchased by him on 14th March for £1/18/-. He fed sweetmilk and skim milk, pasteurized by the factory, and then boiled with a handful of wheatmeal in it. On 28th May he had sold them at Hamburg on a poor market for £6, less £-6/10 charges for Marketing, freight etc. It was a regular practice to fatten up calves for the market, and prices ranged, according to the papers shown us, from 109 shillings for prime to 72 shillings for poor quality. Instead of old bulls being killed for their hides, as in this country, they are fattened up and sold for as much 4d a lb., while old cows are disposed of the same way and at similar prices.

"Where do they go?" our representative asked. "Oh," replied Mr Lassen with a smile, "It is said by some wicked people that they go to Germany to feed the soldiers!" (8)

But seriously speaking, Mr Lassen considers it would be a good thing to fatten up some calves and send a trial shipment of frozen veal Home [to Britain]. He believes that there is a good outlet at a high price for veal.

Mr Lassen did not think that the yield of the milch [milking] cow was so good on the average as in this colony. In fact he thought that the breed of cows out here was, as a rule, superior for milking purposes to those they used in Denmark. One feature he thought a great deal of, was the combination amongst the factories to produce a good article. They used one common depot for their butter and worked together in many ways which did not seem to be dreamt of in this colony. He found that generally the farmers were better off than when he left a little more than a score of years ago, although very many would be glad to come out if they had the means.

Mr Lassen thought it would be a good idea to promote emigration to this Dominion of a number of domestic servants, especially for farm work. They were a strong healthy class, who were not afraid of farm work, and they would prove a boon to many a farmer, and would make really good wives. (!)

In regard to milking, although he didn't see a single milking machine there, he had come across a new separator just on the market, which promised to wipe out De Laval, called Knudsen's Patent 1907 Model, which seemed a good deal thought of. (9) One of something the same pattern had been on the New Zealand market, but the latest pattern was said to be a particularly efficient machine.

The emigration which took place from Denmark was generally to America, and while he was at Naples, he saw a German steamer loading up with 2,700 German emigrants for New York.

Footnotes:-

- (1) Creamery = A milk skimming station sited near each dairy farming community. 'creameries' might supply the resulting buttermilk to a single dairy factory for processing into butter.
- (2) Babcock Tester = A small sample of milk, mixed with sulphuric acid, which causes the cream to separate with the aid of centrifugal force. This enabled the creameries to accurately measure (and pay for) the true amount of butterfat in each farmer's milk.
- (3) In New Zealand the dairy farmers each made a daily pilgrimage to the local creamery, where they queued to have their milk separated, before returning home with the resulting skimmed milk for pigs and calves. This daily activity was also a socialising opportunity for farmers.

- (4) *Kohlrabi* = A member of the cabbage family with a turnip shaped stem.
- (5) *Holstein cow* = Friesian-Holstein, now called Friesian.
- (6) In New Zealand the high butterfat-yielding Jersey cow had increased significantly in numbers, with the arrival of the Babcock Test in 1892. Previously the larger dual-purpose Milking Shorthorn had been favoured.
- (7) Rabbits had been at plague proportions for decades in New Zealand by then, especially in the South Island.
- (8) The Prussian [German] occupation of Schleswig-Holstein since 1864 had caused many Danes, including Las, to emigrate. However apparently a 'little' thing like that was not sufficient to stand in the way of profits for Danish farmers!
- (9) [i] Milking machines had been around since the turn of the century in New Zealand, although powering and cleaning them tended to present a problem. See also Carl J.F. Andersson of Rongotea.
[ii] De Laval = The De Laval Separator Co. of Chicago, U.S.A., a milk separator manufacturer. After W.W.I. a De Laval vacuum pump was combined with an Alpha engine, ultimately developing into the well-known Alpha-Laval dairy system.

The dairying links between New Zealand and Denmark are very strong. Not only was our dairy industry founded with its share of Danish emigrant-farmers such as Las Lassen, but also Danish dairying technology was being imported to New Zealand from the early days as well as its expertise. Johannes Monrad imported a centrifugal cream separator from Denmark which had been invented in 1880. This was the first separator to be seen in the district. It

was in June 1883 that he demonstrated it to local farmers. In 1903 the Danish dairy expert, J. Pedersen, became the dairying consultant for all of New Zealand, apparently based in Palmerston North. Once refrigeration and increasing dairy production made the long journey practical, New Zealand became Denmark's major competitor for the British butter market. In 1907 New Zealand decided to concentrate more on the manufacture and export of cheese, much to the relief of the Danish farmers. In 1914 Denmark had 42% of the British butter market, while New Zealand had 9%.

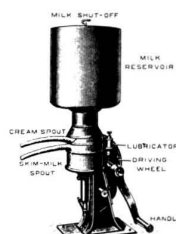


FIG. 22—A HAND SEPARATOR.

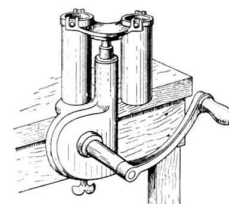
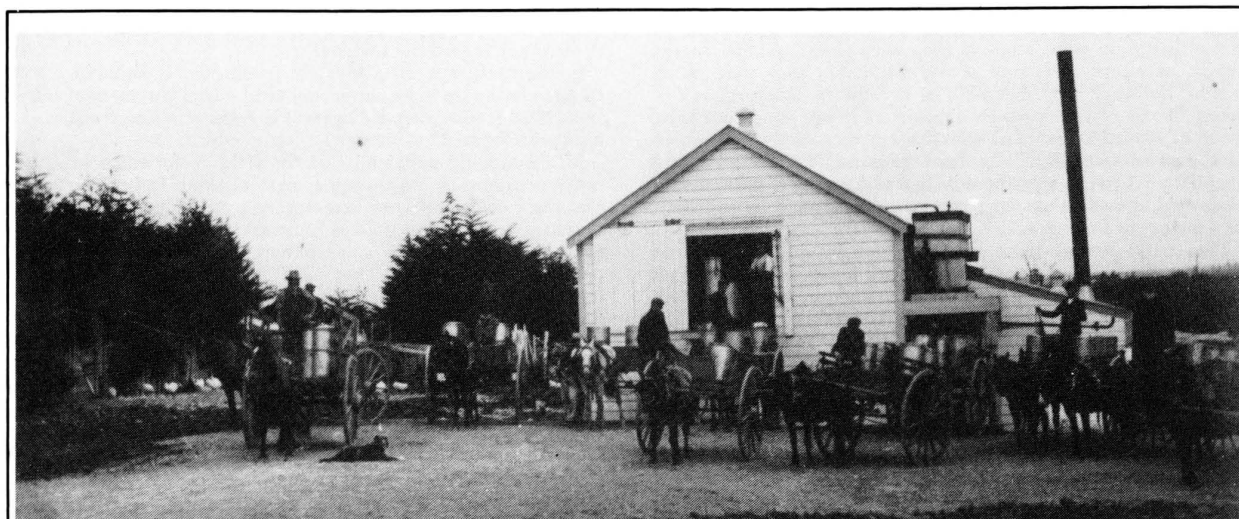


FIG. 23—A TWO-BOTTLE HAND CENTRIFUGAL MACHINE.

Further reading on this subject includes E.H. Pedersen, 'Danish Agricultural Technology and New Zealand Butter,' in H. Bender & B. Larsen (eds.) 'Danish Emigration to New Zealand', (Denmark, 1990); and E. Warr, 'From Bush-burn to Butter', (Wellington, 1988). The drawings used in this article are from W.A.G. Penlington's 'Science of Dairying: a Text-book for the use of Secondary and Technical Schools', a New Zealand textbook published in 1915.



Las Lassen may be one of these farmers, making their daily pilgrimage to the Bunnythorpe Butter Factory, to have their milk separated. Owner, John Jarvie 'Jack' Gillies, is the man in the white shirt at the factory door. The Bunnythorpe Butter Factory, which supplied 'Bunny Butter', was built by Gillies in 1905. It was sold to the suppliers in August 1907, becoming the Bunnythorpe Co-operative Dairy Company Ltd. Later additions made to the premises are depicted in R.E. Clevely's 'Bunnythorpe and District' (opp. p. 41). The Gillies' home was through the gate on the left.

The New Zealand Farmers' Dairy Union's Bunnythorpe Creamery opened in 1893, and Gillies managed it from 1895, collecting cream for the main factory in Fitzherbert Avenue, Palmerston North.

Adding to Bunnythorpe's apparent glut of dairy factories was the Nathan & Co. Dried Milk Factory, [later Glaxo] which opened in 1904. When it burnt down in January 1906, followed by the new factory's boilers blowing up in July 1906, Gillies, as the 'rival' proprietor, was charged with the apparent crime. Gillies was well-known to the

community as a devout Christian, being organist and violinist at the Bunnythorpe Presbyterian Church. He was also a recent widower with three young children. Gillies was acquitted, to the delight of the locals who trusted him, and who favoured his business. Nathans, who were seen as 'outsiders', bought wholemilk, while the farmers preferred the butter-making process which permitted them to retain the skimmed milk. This they used to feed other livestock.

The original 1893 creamery was bought by Nathan & Co. in January 1906, for use while they replaced their burnt factory.

J. Millan's recent history 'Glaxo: From Bonnie Babies to Better Medicines', reveals a grudge still lingers, long after all participants - and alleged participants - have gone to their graves.

This complicated situation, therefore, was the background to Las Lassen's fact-finding visit to Denmark during 1907.

(Gillies source:- Jean Dolan, nee Gillies, Himatangi - her memories, with research by Val Burr, 1992. Also Clevely 1952: 50-60; Millen, 1991: 33-37. Photo:- Gillies family, Palmerston North.)

CHRISTIAN LINDGREN

Christian Lindgren was born in 1835, in Goteborg Parish, Goteborg, Sweden. It seems that he was married with a family, who were to join him in New Zealand in due course, but this did not happen. Possibly his wife died in the meantime. He was regarded later in life as unmarried. Christian's obituary records that he was a highly educated man and that at one time, before coming to New Zealand, he had belonged to the mercantile marine. At the time he emigrated, he was described as a 34 year old 'Danish' farm labourer.

On arrival Christian was allotted Section 415, Lot 52 (19 acres) in James Line but in the end he did not take it up. On 19 February 1872 the Scandinavian Block surveyor, Walter Aldzdorf, wrote to the Authorities on his behalf asking if Christian could also purchase the adjoining Lot 43 (20 acres), which fronted Stoney Creek Road, as the latter's wife was due to arrive shortly. Christian was told that if he paid for the first property within a year of occupation, he could have the second on 'deferred payment' also. (NA: IM 6/7/1) This was not achieved and Lot 52 was finally sold at auction in 1874.

Establishment Costs: £9/10, Lot 52 payments: nil]

In August 1879 Christian and Frits Jenssen assisted the dying John Hansen, a Swede, also from the *England*, who had been working for Richter, Nannestad & Co. at their Trondheim Sawmill. Hansen had been a storekeeper and Christian became the Executor of his estate, chasing up his debtors. (MT 16/9/1878, 31/12/1879)

Christian held some responsible jobs, including in March 1880 becoming the licensee of the Palmerston Hotel in Main Street West, now the site of the Masonic Hotel. The aging Palmerston Hotel, the town's first 'Pub', had been built by Amos Burr in 1866 and, "its style of architecture was not of the most ornamental kind." (MT 29/1/1884) It was a rough establishment with a poor reputation, regularly appearing in the Court columns of the 'Manawatu Times.' It had been purchased by the well-known speculator, Joseph Nathan, in October 1879. George F. Roe had been the previous licensee, and Archibald Dykes the previous publican. Dykes was having problems with his finances and with Court appearances for breaches of alcohol regulations.

In June 1880 Christian applied for a continuation of what had been a three-month licence. Although he was highly regarded and the hotel had been well run since he took over, the Hotel Licensing Court denied the licence. They said there was no accommodation at the hotel, and no need for a licenced house in that part of town. Oddly enough, a few months earlier Nathan had been about to enlarge the hotel and build nine extra bedrooms. The hotel was offered for sale soon afterwards as a potential accommodation house, but was supposedly demolished in 1883. By that time the building was very dilapidated and it was considered that little could be done with it, without great expense. L.G. West [see Skandia I: 9] oversaw the removal of the "low" portion of the building to Rangitikei Street, where he remodelled it into a "really handsome new" shop. Part of the hotel remained on the original site where, the Inspector of Nuisances later complained, it was frequently tenanted by drunken men. Joseph Nathan was to be requested to solve this problem. The site was finally sold in 1892, with the Masonic Hotel being built there in 1893. (MT 31/12/1879, 6/3/1880, 5/6/1880, 26/6/1880; 14/12/1883; 29/1/1884; 20/11/1884. 'C.T.' of Sec. 341, Town of P.N.)

Clevely, in 'Bunnythorpe and District' (p.23), refers to 'Carl Lingren' as the manager of the Trondheim Sawmill, at the time it closed in 1887. This was probably Christian, who was very highly placed in the Company. He had been naturalised in Palmerston North on 2 May 1885.

Christian owned a number of properties around Palmerston North over the years, probably being a landlord, given

his known absences. These included sections in:- Bourke Street 1878-9; corner Ruahine Street/Broadway Avenue 1879-83; the present No. 301 Broadway Avenue alongside the flourmill 1879-81; Roy Street 1884-87, the rates on this property being paid by his employer, Frits Jenssen. He had a house in Featherston Street East in 1889-90. By 1895 he was living in Broad Street (Stone's Directory). He paid rates in Palmerston North until 1902.

It seems likely that Christian went to Dannevirke long before 1902. He would have been working as a bush contractor, most likely for Hawkes Bay Timber Co., which replaced Richter, Nannestad & Co. Christian never remarried and at some point was granted the rather meagre Old Age Pension. He lived out his retirement in a whare in Victoria Street, Dannevirke, near the Tapuata Stream.

On 1 October 1911 Christian died at his very modest home, from senile decay and heart failure, having last seen the doctor on September 24th. On his Death Certificate Frits Jenssen, the 'informant', stated that he had been present at his long time friend's death. Frits must have waited until morning to have him moved, as the next day, the occupant of the neighbouring whare, Mr Bredrup, reported finding Christian dead in the whare. He was aged 77 years and was described as a bush-contractor. He was buried at Dannevirke Cemetery. (Aminoff, No. 1758; DEN 2/10/1911; ES 4/10/1911) (Misspelling: Lindgreen)

CHARLES HENRY AMBROSE MARIBOE

Carl Henrik Ambrosius Mariboe was born 8 February 1847 at Glostrup, a town between Copenhagen and Roskilde, in Denmark. He was the eldest son of Christian Friderich Mariboe [born Copenhagen 1821] and his Swedish wife Johanne Marie Jensdatter [born 1816]. Carl was baptised at the Church of Glostrup on 16 May of that year. By 1860 he had three sisters and a brother. The family lived in Glostrup until the mid-1850s, and by 1857 they were in Slagelse, where the youngest known child was born. From the late 1850s until the mid-1860s the family lived in Roskilde, where young Carl was confirmed in the Roskilde Domkirke on 7 April 1861.

Probably Carl's paternal line stemmed from one Levin Moses, who came from Schlesien, Germany, to the Danish town of Maribo in 1721.

Christian Friderich Mariboe was referred to on Carl's death certificate as a Railway Stationmaster at Roskilde. Certainly he was a ticket collector there in 1860, according to Census records. He was still at this job in 1864, when a daughter was also confirmed. It is not known where the family went after the mid-1860s, other than that Carl reappeared in late 1870, requesting a passage to New Zealand.

On arrival in Palmerston, as a 24 year old 'farmer', Mariboe was allotted Section 416, Lot 56 (20 acres), in James Line. Although he paid £3 onto it at an early stage, he did not continue and the Crown sold it at auction in 1874. [Establishment costs: £9/10. Lot 56 payments: nil] It was not long before Carl took the Anglicised version of his name and became best known as Charles Henry Mariboe.

Mariboe does not feature in the Danes Worldwide Archives' lists of Danish-trained photographers and it is assumed that his training in this field took place in New Zealand around 1874-5. He advertised in 'Scandia' on 18 November 1875, that he was soon to open a "Professional Photographic Studios", in Palmerston North, producing business cards and photos of buildings and animals "etc. etc." It is thought that he was Palmerston North's first resident photographer.

Although he advertised a particular interest in 'non-human' subjects, one of the few photos of this type he is known to have taken in early Manawatu, is that of the locomotive 'Skunk.' This photo is assumed to have been



This Danish-born couple, Niels Ortvig Nikoliason and Laura Mathilde, nee Jensen, posed for Charles Mariboe after their wedding at Norsewood, on 27 March 1885. Props were clearly of a basic variety, a plain canvas backdrop, branches tacked together as 'furniture' - and someone's faithful dog! (George 'Ted' E.A. Nikoliason Collection)

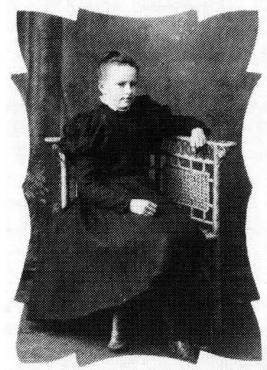


Augustus Nikoliason [born 1891] and her brother Peter Edwin ['Ted', born 1896], of Norsewood, with a familiar chair from Mariboe's collection, but a less familiar full-length backdrop, around 1898. (George 'Ted' E.A. Nikoliason Collection)

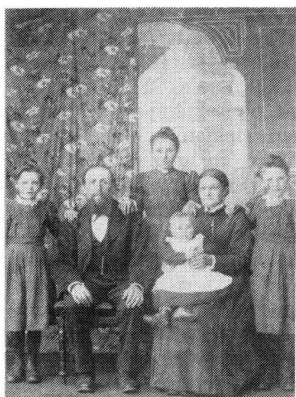


Mariboe had a habit of concentrating so hard on his subjects, in this case, Mary Jensen of Norsewood (around 1890s), that he did not allow for the 'shortcomings' of his backdrops. Many of his photos, including this one, show what looks like a strip of wallpaper on the right side - his 'blind side'. The same table appears frequently, including the photo of Celaeno passenger, Anders Christian Christensen (see Celaeno story). Mary Jensen, who was born in New Zealand, is holding a book entitled 'DANMARK', indicating her family background. Mary's parents, Neils Christian Jensen and his wife Anna Maria, with two young children, were from Veile, in Bierre Parish, Denmark. They arrived on the Fritz Reuter in 1875. (Danes Worldwide Archives Emigration list 1873-4) Mary later married Fred Hayward and then, as a widow, Charlie Briskie. (Mr L. Swan, Dannevirke)

This photo, probably of a daughter of Maria and John Harms, shows a border pattern Mariboe sometimes used. This would have been created by the use of a stencil, when developing the print. Mariboe's favourite cane chair is shown clearly. (Avis McCutcheon, Palmerston North)

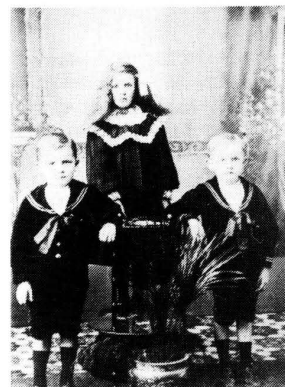


Ernest Charles Berkahn [1881-1961] with his wife Elizabeth Eleanor Louisa [nee Howard] and their son, of Makaretu. This photograph reveals one of Mariboe's well-used backdrops and the even more well-used cane chair, probably in the early 1900s. The tatty black sheepskin on the floor is an 'old friend' also. This photo was in the album of family friends, Martin and Rosanna Severinsen, early residents of Makaretu. (Fay Chadwick, Dannevirke)



Another early backdrop, embellished with a curtain, a piece of the slanting ceiling and Mariboe's finger print, frame this photo of John and Maria Harms, and their children. Other photos have this curtain neatly tied to one side. John owned the Norsewood Dairy Factory in the 1890s, while Maria, nee Adrian, had arrived with her parents from Linken, Prussia [now in Poland], on the Fritz Reuter in 1875. From left are Helena Etha [Mrs Rosvall], John, Anna Marie [Mrs Hansen], Mary [Mrs Rosvall], Maria, and Alice Margaretha [Mrs Rasmussen]. Baby Mary was born 10 July 1893, dating this photograph at late 1894. Alice, born in 1883, was well over 100 years old when she died. (Avis McCutcheon. Andersen, 1972: 76)

A backdrop from later in Mariboe's career, along with palm tree, brass container and varnished furniture, adorns this photo of the Mulholland children of Norsewood. The same basic equipment, along with the well-travelled cane chair, appears in a photo taken in Rangataua about 1911. (George 'Ted' E.A. Nikoliason Collection)



taken in April 1876 after its trial run, but could have been taken at any time from when it first reached Palmerston North on 23 October 1875 [probably driven by Martin Boesen (q.v.)], about three weeks before Mariboe's advertisement appeared in 'Skandia.' The presence of iron rails point toward the later date. A first-known photo of a locomotive, with Scandinavian connections, seems an appropriate choice for the son of a stationmaster.

How Mariboe occupied his early years is unknown, although it is unlikely he could have lived off earnings from photography in Palmerston North at that time. In 1877, the "Palmerston Photographic Gallery" was regularly advertised in the 'Manawatu Times'. The studio was sited "opposite the new school". At that time, the Palmerston North School faced Church Street, thus theoretically the studio would have been between Princess Street and present Centralpower building. (Petersen, 1973: 121) This unknown photographer was willing to photograph "houses, stores, animals etc." but there is nothing else to indicate Mariboe. (MT 28/3/1877) In 1880 he was paying rates to the Palmerston North Borough Council on a Taonui Street house [Sec. 302, All. 69].

In early Palmerston North there were regular appearances of travelling photographers. They would set themselves up for a few weeks in some leased 'studio' and then move on to the next town when the rush of customers was over. Mariboe followed this routine also.

On 28 May 1883 the correspondent at Campbelltown [now Rongotea] for the 'Manawatu Times' wrote: "We have been favoured with a visit from Mr Charles Mariboe of Palmerston North, who has fitted up a convenient studio for the purpose of his visit. During his stay in Sanson he appears to have given great satisfaction to those who favoured him with a sitting, and the specimens he has on show are faithful likenesses of those they represent. His views of various buildings in the same town are admirable, that of St. Thomas's Anglican Church deserving especial mention. Since the Artist's arrival here, he has been fully occupied (weather permitting) in taking views of houses, homesteads and groups of animals, all of which have given entire satisfaction. The settlers have very fairly patronised him and on fine days, his sitting room may be seen crowded with fathers (and) mothers, with their families, all equally anxious to have their heads taken off."

As 'Charles Henry Ambrosius Mariboe', photographer, aged 36, Mariboe was naturalised on 31 December 1885 at Waipukurau. It was at about this time that he photographed another train, said to be the newly-laid line between Dannevirke and Woodville. [see front cover]

Mariboe is recalled as travelling with a small horse-drawn covered wagon, which served as a mobile darkroom. [This was similar to that of the better documented travelling photographer, James Bragge.] He carried various canvas backdrops, the earliest being plain, but later he had painted scenes. At least six different scenes are known. He



The old derelict 'Mariboe House' at Norsewood in 1991, where Charles Mariboe was based from the mid-1890s until 1920. He had a big room, a short distance from the house, which he used as a studio. When the Christiansen family bought the house in 1920, they moved this room and incorporated it into the house. [Olsen, c1977: 25] (George [Ted] E.A. Nikoliason Collection)

also had items of 'occasional furniture' for use as props, some of which lasted many years and were looking a little tired in later times. His early props included 'post and rail fences' made on the spot from convenient branches lashed together. His equally portable floor coverings look decidedly scruffy in some photos; sometimes they are even dotted with leaves and twigs!

Mariboe was apparently based in Palmerston North until about 1895. He paid rates on two properties in Brightwater Terrace [firstly Sec. 388, All. 32; and later Sec. 388, All. 10 from 1884-95]. Presumably it was in the mid-1890s that he made the move to Norsewood, purchasing the property which saw him become that town's only ever resident professional photographer. This was on Section 6 of the Takapau Block IV. The now derelict house is still standing there, behind the Norsewood Museum. Certainly he had the property by 1911 when the first surviving Norsewood Town Board Rate Book begins.

In 1897-8, Mariboe found his way to Hampden, a town later to be renamed Tikokino. Calling himself a 'practical photographer,' he opened a studio "opposite Mr Samuel Vesty's." A report appeared in the local paper stating that "Mr Mariboe has a case of photos of Hampden people on view in Mr Mathews' window, which reflects great credit on him as a photographic artist. As his stay in Hampden is limited to a few weeks more, those desirous of having their shadow taken should not miss the opportunity, as Mr Mariboe takes a first class photo and his charges are below town prices." (Butler & Mathews: 114)

In 1902 he was advertising his business as "Charles Mariboe, Professional Photographer, Norsewood," his studio being opposite the Village Hall, Norsewood. His prices for the two photo sizes he produced were described as "12 cabinets (enamel) = 12 shillings, 12 midgets = 1 shilling." Satisfactory results were guaranteed. By November he had moved on to accommodate the Ormondville district. (DA 10/4/1902, 3/11/1902)

Mariboe makes appearances in two editions of the 'Wise's Directory' as a photographer. In the 1912 edition [compiled 1911] his address was given as Rangataua, near Ohakune, while in 1914 [compiled 1913] he was at Manunui, near Taumarunui. One of his young subjects later recalled that while at Manunui he lived in a tin shed on what was then Fiefields' property. She thought he was a German. Evidence of his visit includes a photo of the Manunui Rugby Team. (Letter: Sept. 1993, Stan Goodwin, Taumarunui to V.A.B.)

While Mariboe was plying his trade around the countryside, his house in Norsewood was leased out. James Swan had it around 1912-1914, according to the Rate Books, while "Mercer" was there around 1918-1919, indicating that Mariboe was again on the move.

In late 1917, Mariboe enrolled on the Alien Register at Taupiri, in the Waikato. He was then aged 69, and evidently still working as a photographer. One can imagine the problems faced by a northern European, roaming the roads attempting to take photographs, during the highly suspicious years of World War One. However, he is known to have spent much of his time in areas of Scandinavian and other non-British settlement. It is noticeable that his house was apparently not rented during the war years. He may have stayed closer to home, and to the other 'foreigners'.

Mariboe paid the rates on the Norsewood property for the last time on 27 September 1919, the new owners Christian Christiansen and family buying it in 1920. A daughter of this family, Mrs Johanna E. Olsen, wrote 'Reflections of Yesteryear' and 'Fragrant Reminiscences' about her family history and also the 'Mariboe House'. It is also understood that there were a number of boxes of glass plate negatives left under the house when Mariboe sold it, and that they remained there for many years. Alas these treasures are long since lost.

Only vague traces of 'personal' memories of Charles Mariboe have survived to the present day. Johanna Olsen's mother had described him as a "very honest and popular man." (letter 13/8/1992 JO to VAB) He had also been referred by another family who were regular customers as "Old Mariboe." He must have been extremely well known throughout the large area he serviced, judging by the numbers of families who have portraits of their forebears with Mariboe's name attached. It is regrettable that so few of these are the scenes of life, animals and buildings he apparently liked to photograph. They did not provide his income.

It is not certain when Mariboe retired, although on 22 July 1920 the Pensions Department contacted the Internal Affairs Department to ask his age at the time of naturalisation in 1885. Presumably he had just applied for the Old Age Pension. He was then living somewhere in the former department's Auckland District. (NA: IA1,20/2/93)

Mariboe's death certificate indicates that he had been ailing from about 1924. He spent the last part of his life in Pokeno, dying there on 1 August 1926 from chronic bronchitis, with Myocarditis syncope [heart disease] as a secondary cause. His last medical visit, by Doctor C.H. Wake, had occurred on July 28th and it is to be hoped that the elderly bachelor, aged 79 years, had some nursing care during his last days. His death certificate was issued as 'Charles Ambrose Mariboe.' He was buried at the Mercer Public Cemetery on August 3rd, with the Reverend Hugh J. Baker of the Church of England officiating. He has no headstone and his gravesite is not listed under his name, a fate he shares with others at that cemetery. Fortunately, whoever provided his details knew enough of his background to enable his earliest years to be rediscovered.

Mariboe died intestate, and the document handing his deceased estate over to the Public Trustee for administration [as Charles Ambrose Mariboe, photographer], gives an indication of his situation. His Post Office Savings Account contained £39/3/6; he had cash of £9/6/6 in his possession; his whare and iron tank [water tank?] were valued at £8 [!]; while his personal effects and jewellery were valued at 15/-. (NA: AAOM6029 1926/37269) It would seem that his little home was of an extremely modest nature and that he was very frugal with his pension money. There is no mention of the fate of his photographic equipment and his negatives. Enquiries in the Pokeno area have shed no further light on his final days. (Misspellings: Mariber, Maribol)

(Specific sources:- letter 9/9/1993: Kaj Orhoj, of Roskilde Bibliotek, Denmark, to VAB, including his Danish documentation; also letters and records mentioned throughout text.)

FOOTNOTE:- As I am doing further research on Charles Mariboe, I would be very interested to hear from readers who know anything of him, or have photos by him. I am curious to know how widely he ranged and to get an accurate idea of where and when he was working over the years. I am especially interested in locating dated photos, including where the approximate year may be known, or the more unique types of photo, such as activities, buildings, trains or animals. I may be contacted c/- Scandinavian Club of Manawatu, P.O. Box 84, Palmerston North. - Val Burr.

JENS NEILSEN

Jens Neilsen (27) described himself as a Danish farmer. He lost many of his provisions when the Oroua River flooded, in 1871. He was allotted Section 417, Lot 63, (18 acres) in Roberts Line and by 1873 had also taken over Lot 62, (also 18 acres) originally intended for Neils Olsen. This farm, to which Lot 61 was eventually added, became known in recent years as 'Hunters Poultry Farm'. In 1994 it is in the early stages of subdivision and includes Peppertree Glade.

[Establishment costs: £9/10. Lots 62 and 63 payments: £16/- May 1873; £8/- June 1874; £8/- June 1875; £5/5 May 1876]

Neilsen had sold at least part of the farm by 1879, when A. Mikkelsen had Lot 62. (MT 30/4/1879). He is not the James Neilsen, carpenter of Main Street, who appears in 'Stones Directory' 1895 and is buried at Terrace End Cemetery. That man proved to be a Scot. Nothing more is known of Jens Neilsen.

NEILS NEILSON

Neils Neilson, or Nils Nilsson (24) described himself as a Danish farmer when he arrived in 1871. He also lost many of his provisions when the Oroua River flooded in 1871. He was allotted Section 417, Lot 60 (18 acres) in Roberts Line and took it up for a time.

[Establishment costs: £9/10. Lot 60 payments: £8/- May 1873; £11/- Sept. 1874]

A Neils Neilson cleared the road line from Rangitikei Line to "H. McNeil and others' property", the line being cleared at "20 feet in center" at £1 per chain. 'Neilson & Co.' were less successful tendering for work in the Stoney Creek Scandinavian block. (MHB Minutes 2/11/1875, 25/6/1876)

Although nothing more is known for certain of this man, probably it was he who took over payments on Section 424 (91 acres) in Rangitikei Line in 1876 from Gustav Kindberg (q.v.). Lot 60 was sold to the newly arrived Prussian immigrant family of Mads Mikkleson [ex-*Humboldt*] at about this time. The original two-roomed cottage on the property, which may have been Neilson's, survived until the 1960s. The house which the Mikkelsen family built is still occupied.

HANS OLSSON and ANNA STINA STENBERG (Hans emigrated as a single man and met Anna in New Zealand)

Hans Olsson's birth records reveal that he was born 23 March 1839 at Svalov, in Skane, Malmohus, Sweden. He was the son of Ola Olsson and Elna, nee Andersdotter. His name has been linked with Helingborg but its place in his life is unknown. He left his fiancée, Elis Pettersdotter, and their young son Sven, behind in Sweden, intending that they would join him later when he had established a home for them. Hans was one of a small group of Swedes who joined the emigrant party in Denmark, then being aged 31 years and described as a farmer. He could not speak any English at this time.

He was allotted Section 415, Lot 50 (19 acres) in James Line on arrival and later the same year he also took up the neighbouring 19 acre Lot 49 [previously Pher Andersen's]. These two properties are now the site of the Kelvin Grove Cemetery. [Establishment Costs: £9/10. Lot 49 and 50 payments £16/- May 1873; £8/- May 1874; £14/10 June 1875.] Very likely the additional purchase was due to the intended arrival of Elis and Sven, but that was not to be. After two years in New Zealand, he had not managed to raise the money needed for their fares [which would also have been subsidised] and Elis would no longer wait.

In March 1871, 150 Maori were employed clearing the bush in the Manawatu Gorge, while the assortment of European labourers, including the Swede, Enock Frederick Charles (q.v.), worked on the road line. Soon after arrival, Hans and a number of his shipmates also joined these people. There must have been a great mixture of languages, and communication must have been complicated at times. This was Hans' introduction to the place where he would spend most of his working life, in one capacity or another.

Hans recalled that their stores were brought up the river from Foxton at that time, no doubt a quicker method than travelling over the roads of the day. This method also had its drawbacks. The Gorge claimed at least one canoe-load of goods. (WI 7/9/1871)

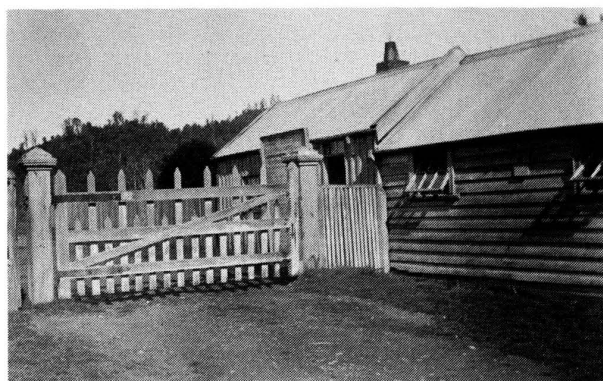
The workmen lived in the three workers' settlements in the vicinity, all long vanished into history. The most important of these was the Upper Gorge Settlement at the Woodville end. This village grew to accommodate about 200 people at one time, and included a hotel, store, stables, Post Office, several other shops and about 30-40 houses and huts. Most importantly to this story, it also came to include the Upper Gorge Tollgate. The last house from this village burnt down in June 1954, having been still occupied by railway workers. (ATL: A. Olsson Collection)

Another small village was at the Lower Gorge, or Ashhurst end, while the third, named 'Barney's Point,' was at the "first big curve in the road" about a mile downstream of the Upper Gorge Bridge. We are left to wonder just who Barney was and what happened at the spot to warrant the name. Barney's Point consisted of 2 or 3 acres of sloping land "opposite the Te Apiti Station siding" and housed railway workers. For many years fruit trees survived there. This is now the large rest area near the Woodville end of the Gorge, the old village site having been excavated when the road was straightened in recent years. There were also other solitary huts and tents scattered through the Gorge where the terrain might allow. (ATL: A. Olsson Collection)

The narrow Gorge Road was completed in 1872, at a cost of £5,000, and Hans had many memories of the early days there, including the first horse and cart to go through the Gorge. Mr A. Hall drove the first coach through, inaugurating what became the major means of communication from the east coast to the west coast in the lower North Island. (WE 23/8/1920; Matheson, 1971: 35) It was not until May 1875 that the 'Upper Gorge Bridge' at the Woodville end of the Gorge was completed. In June 1875, the first tollgate was installed at the Woodville end of that bridge. Mr W. Ross was appointed as the first tollkeeper, a job he retained until 1889. At first the tollgate was leased, but later tollkeepers were paid a salary. (Petersen, 1973: 87)

After the road was completed, Hans was put in charge of the road maintenance staff. He remained foreman of the Gorge Road throughout the busy coaching days prior to the opening of the railway line in 1891. His mate was Joe Barrott, a well known 'old identity' of the Woodville area, who had maintained of the road between the Gorge and that town. Barrott had also operated a lime kiln nearby. Such milestones as the machinery and materials being brought through the Gorge for the 'Woodville Examiner', were noted by Hans. That newspaper was first published on 3 October 1883.

Hans' Day Book for work on the Gorge has survived for the period 1 May 1882 to 18 May 1883. This contains many



The tollgate at the Woodville end of the Manawatu Gorge, alongside the tollhouse. (Joyce McCrea)



The Upper Gorge Bridge and settlement in about 1880. The tollkeeper's cottage is probably the third house on the right side of the road, at the far end of the bridge. (Palmerston North Public Library)

names of families who are familiar to the locality and to the ownership list of properties in the Scandinavian and Roadmen's Block at Stoney Creek [Whakarongo]. These are Henry [Heinrich] John, Patrick Haggerty, Mikael Murphy, Hamman Wusner, George Wilson, Christian Nilson, Joseph and Edward Barrott, George Robinson, James Taylor, August William Hill, Johan and Gottfried Bogun [later Bogan], Carl and Frederick Gerke, Michael Enwright (sic), A. Gardener, Thomas Davis, Thomas Nilson and G. Robinson. Some of these people later settled at Kimbolton. (ATL: H Olsson Collection)

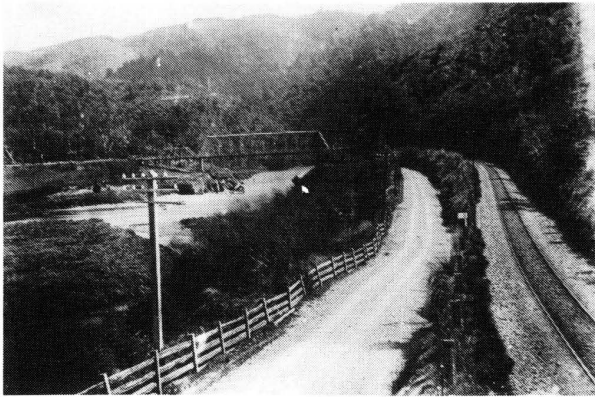
Hans was a great walker, often walking to Palmerston North and back after work on Saturdays. He followed the river when the road was impassable. In 1882 he purchased 38 acres at Norsewood for £250, although any departure from the Gorge was shortlived. This was an investment. He was naturalised on 28 February 1885, describing himself as a labourer, of Stoney Creek, Palmerston North, so presumably he still considered his home to be at the James Line property.

On 13 August 1886 Hans (46) married Anna Stina Stenberg (39) at the Registrar's Office, Woodville. The couple's witnesses were Anna's brother Hans Stenberg, a carpenter, and Jens Pedersen, a settler-farmer and husband of Anna's sister, Amalia.

Anna was born 5 December 1846, at Tanum, Goteborg och Bohus, Sweden, and had come to New Zealand in 1885, at the tail-end of her family's chain migration to New Zealand. Her brothers, Alexander and Hans, had arrived with their wives on the *Hovding* in 1873, along with their unmarried sister, Carolina. Then Amalia, Johan, Axel and Johanna had come as single people in 1876. Anna had arrived with her aging parents, Johannes Stenberg and Anna Britta, nee Hansdotter, on the *SS Ionic*, landing in



Hans and Anna Olsson, and their son Joseph, with a shooting party who are about to pass through the Manawatu Gorge in about 1900. The tolls can be seen on the signboard against their house. (Palmerston North Public Library)



Approaching the Ballance Bridge and the Manawatu Gorge, from the Woodville end, photographed by Alfred Olsson at 11:45 am, on 14 March 1915, on a bright sunny morning. (Bert Olsson)

Napier in late 1885. They settled with family members in Woodlands Road, Woodville. Unfortunately Johannes was killed the following year while felling trees.

The Stenberg family had lived in Norway for some years, and a number of their children were born there. Anna had worked in a cotton mill in Christiania, and the reference her employer gave her before she emigrated, has survived. *"Stina Stenberg has been employed in the manufactory weaving of Nydalins Compagnie in Christiania for a time of about 4 years. She is a very steady and industrious woman whom I can give my best recommendations. - Nydalin pr Christiania the 18th of August 1885. [Signature illegible]"*

Anna was unable to write, even to sign her name on her marriage certificate, until her sons taught her. An exercise book she owned shows the repeated practising of 'ovals' which the children had learned at school and had then taught her.

Hans still owned his James Line property in 1889-90, although it is unlikely he had it much longer. (MRB Rate Book) His shipmate, Nils Christian Hansen, who lived opposite and also worked at the Gorge [and who paid the rates that year], mentioned that he had helped to clear this property prior to his marriage in 1884. Joyce McCrea recalls her father [Joseph] pointing to a Whakarongo cottage where Hans had once lived, although her memory is of a house in Napier Road.

The couple's first child, Alfred, was born at the Gorge settlement on 28 May 1887, while their second, Joseph Gottfred, was born 1 March 1890, at Ashhurst where the family was then living. Joseph was one year old when the first train went through the Gorge, the opening ceremony being performed by the Hon. Mr R.J. Seddon on 9 March 1891. That day a long train carrying about 1,000 people had travelled through the Gorge to Woodville. (Petersen, 1973: 87-8)

Hans' obituary states that he had been working continuously on the Gorge for 36 years as roadman and tollkeeper, at the time of his retirement in 1907. He had then remained living in the former tollhouse for another five years. One of the two tollkeeper's diaries that Joyce has begins with descriptions of the conditions of each of the 73 bridges and culverts then existing on the Gorge road. Hans has added a note that, "All this was done for a long time hence. - Manawatu Gorge, June 17th 1889."

There were five tollkeepers over the years at the Upper Gorge Bridge - Mr W. Ross between 1875 and 1889, followed by Mr Peters, Mr Edwards, then his wife - Mrs Edwards, followed by Hans, with his assistant - Anna. They lived in the four-roomed tollhouse hard up against the roadway and the tollgate, on the western side of the road. Hans was appointed to the position by the Pahiatua County Council, to begin the job on 1 April 1891. On his first day he collected tolls for 8 saddled horses [ie. ridden],

5 vehicles [ie. horse-drawn vehicles] and 1 loose horse [ie. being led]. These realised £-8/8d. (ATL: A. Olsson Collection)

The progression of Hans' career on the Gorge Road appears in the Minutes of the Pahiatua Roads Board, extracts from which have been recorded in Angus McCallum's 'Tui Country: A History of Pahiatua, 1888-1988.' At one time four different Counties had taken care of portions of the Gorge Road. The Pahiatua and Kairanga Counties had been responsible for two miles each, while the Woodville County had maintained one mile and the Oroua-Pohangina County had maintained half a mile at the Ashhurst end.

Hans' tollgate was located in the Pahiatua Road Board's area, The Manchester Road Board controlled the other end, and had another toll-gate at the 'Lower Gorge [Ashhurst] Bridge', which had been built in 1886.

In 1895, the unnamed Gorge Overseer, possibly Hans, was about to be made redundant due to lack of funds. However, in April of that year, severe storm damage gave him a six month reprieve. The Ashhurst Bridge was also washed away in this flood, and a ferry again operated at that point until a new bridge was finally opened in June 1909.

The Gorge's problems were a constant source of bickering between the two Boards and although McCallum does not record exactly when, it seems that around 1896 tolls were temporarily abolished. In August 1896 Hans advised the Pahiatua Road Board that the Manchester Road Board would no longer employ him to keep their portion of the Gorge Road in repair. Pahiatua's Engineer was to arrange with Hans to keep the Pahiatua Road Board's portion of the road clear. They also decided to reinstate the tollgate under the same terms as in the "former" agreement between the two Boards. The October 1896 Minutes record that Hans was reappointed to the position of tollkeeper. (McCallum, 1988: 112)

A collection of pages covering the tolls between 1 April 1891 to 19 January 1892 survives in the Hans Olsson Collection at the Alexander Turnbull Library. The first of the actual toll diaries, held by Joyce, covers the period 2 November 1896 to 30 June 1899. Charges were:- a 'vehicle' [wagon] = 2/-; a Trap and one horse = 1/-; a saddled horse = 9d; an unsaddled [led] horse = 6d; a foal = 3d; cattle = 6d ea.; a calf = 3d; a bullock dray with two pair of bullocks = 3/6d; 750 sheep = £1/17/6. Per-head charges for mobs of sheep decreased, as the size of the mob increased. On 2 November 1896 the following passed through the toll gate:- 1 horse and trap, 7 saddled horses, two 'loose' [led] horses, 1 foal, also 1 'loose' horse and 1 saddled horse [together?]. There was no charge for pedestrians and bicycles.

Joyce's second toll diary covers the period 1 October 1903 to 30 June 1907. At that time the tollgate was abolished, although nothing had passed through it since the 26th June. This diary reveals that the first "motorcar" went through the Gorge on 17 January 1904, while the second and third went through on 22 January 1904 [a return trip?]. Three paid tolls in February, four in March, two in April and one in May, then there was a winter break until one car in September 1904. These may well have been just one or two cars making a number of trips. A break until September 1905, probably caused by serious slips in November 1904 and January 1905, was followed by a slow increase in numbers [19 car tolls were paid in January 1906], but with a distinctive lack of cars through the winter months. These cars and this road were not at their best in Winter. The winter months frequently had days where nothing at all passed through, possibly coinciding with slips, which took somewhat longer to clear than at present.

At first there was no set charge for cars. Hans arrived at his figure of 1/3d, by taking the charge for a horse and cart - 2/-, and deducting the cost of a saddled horse - 9d. This fee was used for some time.

Joyce recalls a story of two cars meeting on the narrow Gorge road in the early days. They were unable to pass each other and a 'heated discussion' took place between the two male drivers, over which car would back up to one of the passing places on the road. When finally one driver relented, the other said, "Why didn't you back up before?" - to which the other sheepishly replied "I was too scared to!"

Another time, a V.I.P. passed through the Gorge in the train. Possibly this was a Governor, at a time when the position was accorded great ceremony. As the train passed, Hans saluted the V.I.P. with his shovel. The salute was acknowledged.

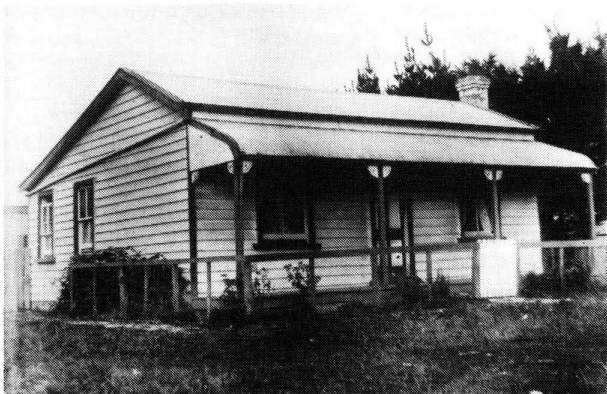
Hans was responsible for a row of macrocarpa trees in the Gorge, which he had planted intermittently along its length between the road and the river. Four or five trees survive near the Woodville end.

On 18 September 1905, the Pahiatua County Council requested that Hans keep a tally of all traffic passing through the tollgate. He was to enter the name of each occupant, where they were from and where they were going. They also required the names of the owners of all stock, where the stock was from and its destination. While this sounds intrusive, the information was required for a meeting several weeks later at which the embattled County Councils were to apportion the cost of maintaining the road.

Another request, on 16 January 1907, was from F.C. Hay, at the Public Works Survey Camp, at Foxton. Hans or his sons were to note the river levels during any floods exceeding 25 feet "on the gauge", over the next month or two. This task was continued until June 1907 and the family in fact measured all floods from 28 December 1906 to 8 August 1907. Very extreme levels of flooding, much of which was caused by deforestation upstream, were at this time eating away huge acreages of land at the river end of Fitzroy Street, Palmerston North, as well as regularly inundating low-lying potentially valuable land downstream.

Other documents which have survived in Joyce's collection are loose pages summarising the daily toll payments for the periods 1/2/1898-31/12/1899 and 1/11/1906-31/3/1907. Although the tollgate officially closed on 1 July 1907, the section of road ostensibly maintained by the Kairanga County Council had supposedly been impassable for two months. (McCallum, 1988: 159); however Hans' diary disagrees with this.

Even after Hans retired, the couple remained living at the tollhouse. Hans continued to work casually on the road, which has always required attention because of falling debris. On 28 May 1908, the Pahiatua County Council issued him with 1 wheelbarrow, 3 shovels, 3 picks, 1 jack and 2 axes, to use on the job. Other similar equipment, owned by the Government, was also at his disposal. In 1908 his assistants were J. Smith, A. Richards and T. Jamieson.



The 'Brick House', Old Gorge Road, Woodville, photographed by Alfred Olsson at 7:45 am on 15 March 1915, on a cloudy, but bright day. The house is now derelict. (Bert Olsson)

Then in 1912, the couple moved from the tiny Gorge settlement to another house, always known as 'the brick house' [despite being made of wood], on the Old Gorge Road, Woodville. Presumably it was at this time that he returned what was left of the Pahiatua County Council's equipment: 1 wheelbarrow, 2 shovels, 2 picks and 1 axe. (Ref: Joyce's records)

Hans retained good health to the end, dying peacefully in his sleep at their home in Gorge Road on 22 August 1920, aged 82 years. Anna suffered an accident in about 1925 which cost her the use of her legs. She lived alternately with Alfred and Joseph and their families, both of whom lived in the district. During her latter years she enjoyed comparatively good health. She always took a great interest in, and contributed to, various benevolent institutions, notably Dr. Barnardo's Homes and the Salvation Army. Finally, after a few days of illness, Anna died on 19 August 1929 aged 81, at Woodville. The couple are buried at the Woodville Cemetery. (Aminoff, No. 131, 2324, 2372, 2549, 2915, 2916, 2917, 2920, 2924, 2925, 2926, photo pg 53; Obituaries: 'Woodville Examiner' 23/8/1920, 21/8/1929; Petersen, 'P.N.', pp. 85-87) (Misspellings: Olsen, Olssen)

(Family source: Joyce McCrea, Palmerston North; Bert Olsson, Devonport. Alexander Turnbull Library sources: Arthur Olsson Collection, MS Papers 2115, Folder 1; H. Olsson Collection, FMS Papers 1492, Folder 1.)

NEILS OLSEN

Neils Olsen (24), a Danish farmer, was one of the four who wrote on 6 April 1872 to the New Zealand Government complaining about overcharging (£1) for goods they purchased in Wellington and also those which were lost in the Oroua River en route to Palmerston North. He was allotted Section 417, Lot 62 (18 acres) Roberts Line but did not take it up. Neils made two early payments on his land, totalling £6/10/-, but then disappeared. By 1874 fellow passenger Jens Neilsen had taken over payments on it.

[Establishment Costs: £9/10. Lot 62 payments: nil]

OLEEF OLSSON

Oleef Olsson (22) was almost certainly a Swede, although Aminoff does not mention him, and he was on the ship as a Danish farmer. Apparently he joined up at a late stage and the Danish sub-agent in Malmo, Sweden, claimed that all berths on the ship were taken. Olsson was told that if he paid more, 50 Danish Rigsbankdalers [£NZ5/11/5.5], instead of the usual 20 Rigsbankdalers [£2/4/7], which was a dubious sum anyway, extra room would be made available for him. He paid this in the equivalent Swedish currency - 100 Swedish Dollars.

The New Zealand investigators were content that his story was true and the other people who joined in Copenhagen all told similar stories of money demanded there. The Agent, Mr Horneman, was investigated due to this and other irregularities with his work. He said that Olsson's was a 'false claim,' and that no receipt was presented as evidence. No receipt had been handed to Olsson in the first place, and so the money could not be recovered. (NA: IM 6/7/1)

He was allotted Section 415, Lot 48 (19 acres) in James Line but did not take it up.

By 2 August 1871 he and nine others had given up on the Manawatu. He and four other young men made use of the "hill road" and departed for the Hawkes Bay Province. The Government was still hoping to recover its £9/10, if he reappeared on Public Works in the Seventy Mile Bush. Nothing more is known of him. (NA: IM 6/7/1)

[Establishment Costs: £9/10. Lot 48 payments: nil]

PEHRS PETTERSSON

Pehrs Pettersson (33), also called 'Pehrs Pehrson,' was described at the time of boarding as a Danish farmer. He was allotted Section 414, Lot 46 (20 acres) in Stoney Creek Road.

[Establishment Costs: £9/10. Lot 46 payments: £8/4 June 1873; £4/2 June 1874; £4/2 May 1875; £4/2 June 1876]

Nothing more is known for certain of him, but probably he was still in the area in June 1876 when he made the last payment on his land. The property was sold soon afterwards to Thomas Hall, who also came to own Lots 44 and 45. Hall then built the two-storied colonial cottage which, now restored, still stands on this property. [Note: This house has been said to trace to 1874]

It is possible that he was the Peter Pettersen, said to be a Swede, aged 28 or 29, who drowned off Waitarere Beach on 3 December 1878. The man who supplied this information was apparently of British origin and had known him for two years as 'Peter Peters'. He understood that this Peter Pettersen, who was single and a "sober" man, had been in New Zealand for about four years. It is obvious that the informant was a little shakey on Pettersen's name, so other things may also be uncertain. Aminoff has not listed him and the report in the 'Manawatu Times' sheds no more information.

This Peter Petersen was mate on the ketch *Forrest Queen* (sic), which was assisting with the salvage of the sailing ship *Hydrabad* - the well known landmark still on Waitarere Beach. The *Hydrabad* had grounded on 24 June 1878. The *Forrest Queen*, with the steamer *Glenely* towing it, was being used as a lighter. The two boats had transported an assortment of locomotive parts to Wellington from the *Hydrabad*, while the actual locomotives from the ship went overland with the aid of bullock teams.



The rusting hull of the Hydrabad serves as a tourist attraction, playground and picnic spot in this photo taken in 1989. Such pleasant outings bear little resemblance to a time, in 1878, when the Swede, Peter Pettersen, drowned only 40 feet from the wreck, during salvage operations. (Val Burr)

At about 12:30 pm on December 3rd the *Forrest Queen's* boat was swamped en route to the *Hydrabad*, leaving three or four men in the water, including the *Forrest Queen's* captain. He swam ashore safely and advised the would-be rescuers that two men could not swim. It took 20 minutes to launch the heavy rescue boat, during which time Pettersen drowned - about 40 feet from the *Hydrabad*. The *Forrest Queen* had been about three-quarters of a mile, or 15 minutes, offshore, with the steamer *Glenely* about half a mile offshore. The *Forrest Queen's* other boats had been onshore at the time and the *Glenely*, which was the best source of assistance, did not send a boat until after Pettersen had drowned.

Although the surf was not heavy, the *Forrest Queen's* boat was not suited to crossing surf. Its captain had been ordered off under similar circumstances about two weeks earlier. He had been signalled this time also not to come ashore until high tide, three hours later, but had done so, costing Pettersen his life. Pettersen's body was found on December 5th.

The Jury on Pettersen's Inquest requested that the Government look into why the *Glenely* did not launch a boat; why the *Forrest Queen's* captain attempted to land despite a signal not to do so;

and also recommended that a boat always be ready for instant launching from the *Hydrabad*. In due course it was decided that the Master of the *Glenely* had acted under his best judgement at the time. They also accepted that the reasons the men were at Waitarere were unusual anyway and should not be interfered with. No doubt the third suggestion, a boat available for emergencies, was adhered to as commonsense. (NA: J 1, 1878/4004; Church: 54-56)

JENS GUTSEN POULSEN [ex-England] **also** JENS GUTSEN POULSEN and JOHANSINE STEFFENSEN [ex-Gainsborough]

Jens Gutsen Poulsen, or Paulsen, (23) had been born in Denmark about 1847-9, and was described as a farmer. On arrival in New Zealand he was allotted Section 415, Lot 53 (22 acres) in James Line but did not take it up.

[Establishment Costs: £9/10. Lot 53 payments: nil]



Jens Gutsen Poulsen, from the England, in 1871. This photo was preserved in the Snelson Scrapbook. (Palmerston North Public Library)

By August 1871 Poulsen had left the Manawatu settlement, and his debt, heading off "over the hill road" to the Hawkes Bay Province in search of work. He had four companions including Las Lassen, (q.v.) who later returned and took up his land. The Government requested that should they appear on Public Works payrolls in the Seventy Mile Bush, their debts be deducted at £2 per month. These men found work there with Clarke, Dunn & Co. Jens paid £4 on his land prior to March 1873, but did not continue. (NA: IM 6/7/1)

'Our' Jens Gutsan Poulsen then seemingly disappears, but in his place five years later appears another Dane, Jens Gutsan Poulsen, (29) a labourer, and his wife Johansina, nee Steffensen, (27), who was called 'Sine' [pronounced 'Seena']. The couple, who had married in Denmark in 1875, sailed from England on 3 November 1877 aboard the *Gainsborough*, with their 11 month old son Carl. They arrived in New Zealand on 28 January 1878, as assisted immigrants under the Feilding-based Emigrant & Colonists Aid Corporation's immigration scheme. (FdG E.& C. Corp. Immigrant list: 29)

The Rate Books of the Palmerston North Borough Council record that a 'Jens Polson' paid rates on a house and land in Oakley Street between 1880 and 1885, although this may not be either of 'our' people.

Marjorie Scholfield, granddaughter of the *Gainsborough* family, recalls that they farmed in the Stoney Creek area, and James Gutsen (sic) Paulsen, of Ashhurst, is listed in the *Stones Directory* of 1895.

"Our" James Gutsen Poulsen may have made a reappearance on 26 April 1882, when he was a witness at the wedding of Lauritz Hermansen and Maren Andersen Bak. The marriage took place at the home of his [apparent] longtime friend and *England* shipmate, Las Lassen, at Stoney Creek. Maren Andersen Bak and Mrs Christine Lassen were sisters. This evidence implies that the single man from the *England* is also the married man from the *Gainsborough*. Certainly the signatures on the above 1882 marriage certificate and the 1886 birth certificate of one of the Poulsen children [born at Ashhurst], are virtually

identical, implying that they at least involve the same person.

At some point the *Gainsborough's* Poulsen family went back to visit Denmark for three years. Marjorie's father, who was born in 1880, said he was about 15 when this visit occurred, indicating the mid-1890s. When the family returned, they again lived at Ashhurst. In 1906-7 they moved to Tikokino, and then to Ormondville in 1914. They also owned land on Te Whiti Road, Norsewood, where their son and daughter-in-law settled in 1922. In 1917 'Jens Gutsan Paulsen' (sic) stated that he was a 68 year old Danish-born dairy farmer living at Ormondville, while Sine was aged 66 and was also born in Denmark. Both said they had been in New Zealand for 39 years, indicating 1878.

The couple eventually moved to the Norsewood property also, to a house built by Marjorie's father. They lived there for the rest of their lives. Sine died on 25 August 1927, aged 77 years. Jens died at Palmerston North Hospital on 12 July 1929, aged 81. The 'Evening Standard' published death and funeral notices [13/7/1929] but unfortunately not an obituary. The couple are buried together at Norsewood Cemetery. Also at the cemetery are Christian Poulsen (died 3/5/1947, aged 66) and his wife Alice (died 3/2/1973).

While we cannot yet know with certainty that these two men are the same person, it seems possible that 'our' one had gone back to Denmark, married, and had then come back. If they were different men, it is certain that both knew Las Lassen from the *England*. (misspelling: Jens Gutsen Paulsen)

(*Gainsborough's Poulsen family sources: Marjorie Scholfield, Norsewood; Ian Smith, Khandallah*)

CHRISTIAN SCHAUMANN

Christian Schaumann (26) was described on the passenger list as a Danish farmer. He was allotted Section 415, Lot 9 (23 acres) on the corner of James Line and Napier Road. He made two early payments on the land totalling £10/10/-, then disappeared.

[Establishment Costs: £9/10. Lot 9 payments: nil]

The Danish-born Ludolph Georg West then purchased Lot 9. He was permitted to pay it off by deferred payment also. [£9/8 May 1873; £14/2 Sept. 1874] West, who had arrived in Palmerston in 1868, had a Degree from the Agricultural & Forestry College in Copenhagen. An architect by profession, he went on to become Mayor of Palmerston North. (see 'Skandia' I: 9) This particular property had distinct advantages over most of the others in the Scandinavian Block. It had an elevated building site which looks out over Napier Road towards town. It was therefore likely to appeal to people seeking more than just farmland. It is not known if West built on the land.

This property next appears in the hands of Mr Ellis James, from Gloucester, his wife Hannah (nee King), and their "large family" who had "limited means". The James family is the source of the road-name 'James Line,' but they then disappeared from the district leaving later researchers wondering how the name originated. In November 1881 their house and contents were destroyed by fire and in February 1883 they sold the property. James [c51] reappeared as a 'nightman' in Palmerston North, employed to collect 'nightsoil'. He gained notoriety in late 1883 when he beat his horse - which was prone to bolting - to death with a cricket bat. He ended a bad year by being declared bankrupt. (MT 14/11/1881, 19/11/1883, 22/3/1883, 5/12/1883, 31/12/1883; Birth Cert. of E.G. Ellis born 25/5/1881)

The buyer of Lot 9 in February 1883 was the prominent Palmerston North lawyer, Mr J.H. Hankins, who then built himself a "handsome residence" on this prime site which he named 'Te Rimu.' This house was burnt down in the late 1910s, when it belonged to a Mr Wighton and his daughter. Mr Wighton was in partnership with nurseryman, Nils Christian Hansen (q.v.), who lived nearby. They then fashioned a small 'new' house from the wash-house, with extensions. Surrounding this picture of improvisation remained the beautiful gardens which had adorned 'Te Rimu'. (MT 23/2/1883, 28/9/1883; McLennan: 96)

JOHAN SISSINGER

Johan Sissinger (18) joined the group as a Danish farmer. He was allotted Section 416, Lot 59 (20 acres) in James Line but did not take it up.

[Establishment Costs: £9/10. Lot 59 payments: nil]

Little is known of Johan Sissinger, although the translation of a letter he wrote to the New Zealand Government on 22 October 1871 sheds some light on attitudes in the fledgling town. It seems that he had spent the winter splitting sleepers for the tramway and that every time the overseer, Amos Burr, inspected these, he was unwilling to pass them. Apparently Burr treated most Scandinavians in the same manner.

Sissinger had become wise to this differing treatment. When his 45 sleepers were condemned because they were supposedly made of sap-wood, he was very annoyed. He conceded a few did have a little sap, but considered none of his were as bad as Andersen's, which were being passed.

Sissinger sold all his sleepers to Gulbrand Hansen (q.v.), who carted them to his stack, before on-selling them to Frederick Andersen. The following day Burr had passed all of Andersen's sleepers, including Sissinger's. Sissinger complained bitterly of this apparent favouritism. J.T. Stewart, the District Engineer in Manawatu, was requested to look into the matter, and found that Andersen had supposedly redressed these sleepers, before Burr passed them. Stewart criticised Andersen for deceiving Burr as to the origin of the sleepers. He also considered that Burr had shown favouritism. Andersen did offer to give the profit from the sleepers to Sissinger, who finally accepted it the second time it was offered.



Squaring sleepers was a skilled job. If they were not properly shaped, or, as in Sissinger's case, were considered to be too sappy, they were rejected by the Railways Department, and could only be used for fence posts or firewood. This photo was taken by C.E. Wildbore in about 1904, in the State Forest, near Opawe Road, Pohangina Valley. From left are:- Ernest Wagstaff, Jack Enright, Sam Lane, unknown, and George Wagstaff. The axes are called 'squaring axes'. (Palmerston North Public Library)

C.J. Toxward (q.v.), when translating Sissinger's letter, had included a critical cover note. He cited an earlier letter he had translated, concerning the discrimination shown by Burr toward the Scandinavians. "An overseer's conduct should be free from nasty feelings and (he) ought to be a man of good character." (NA: IM 6/7/1)

The 1872 'Wellington Almanack' includes 'A. Scissener, brewer,' as a resident of Palmerston in the 1872 'Wellington Almanack'. Nothing more is known of him. (misspellings: Scissener, Lisner)

HANS CHRISTIAN THOMSEN and ELSE JACOBSDATTER

Hans Christian Thomsen (33) was born at Horsen, Denmark, and was described as a blacksmith on the

passenger list. He had married Else Jacobsen in Denmark in August 1866. Elsie (23 or 26) was very pregnant, and probably in early labour, when they sailed from London. Their daughter Marie (3) accompanied them.

At 2:00 am, on 4 December 1870, the day after the *England* sailed, their second daughter, Alexandra, was born. Despite the name accorded her on the ship's medical report, her name appears on the records as 'Alantha' on the arrival list and 'Atlantic' on the Stoney Creek School roll.

The family was allotted Section 412, Lot 18 (37 acres) in Napier Road and took it up.

[Establishment Costs: £12/-/. Lot 18 payments: £15/- June 1873; £7/10 June 1874; £7/10 Aug. 1875; £7/10 April 1876]

'H.C. Thompson, whitesmith,' appeared in the 1872 'Wellington Almanack' as a resident of Palmerston, a whitesmith being a worker in tin [white iron], also called a tinsmith. No doubt there was plenty of work for him, once materials were available.

Hans was working in the Seventy Mile Bush area in mid-1873. He returned from "beyond the Gorge" at that time, to pay the June 1873 installment on his land to Palmerston storekeeper, George Snelson. Snelson then forwarded the money to Wellington. (N.A.: IM 6/7/1) Possibly Hans is the 'Thompson' who, with his partner, P. Reinersen, unsuccessfully tendered for road work with the Manawatu Highways Board in January 1875.

Helen Thomsen [Marie ?] was a first day pupil at Stoney Creek School on 4 October 1877, followed later by Atlantic and Christina Thomsen. Probably all of these are Hans and Else's children. Anders Christian Thomsen, who died in March 1882 and was buried at Terrace End Cemetery, may be a child of theirs. Charles Cornelius was certainly born to them on 22 November 1882.

Hans was naturalised on 15 April 1885, aged 48, describing himself as a settler of Stoney Creek, Palmerston North. In 1901 he sold the property to Joseph McMurray, his neighbour, of Lot 17. Nothing more is known of them.

(Sources include: birth certificate of C.C. Thomsen)

CARL WAHLSTROM

Carl Wahlstrom (27) was described as a Danish farmer when he signed on to travel to New Zealand, although his surname seems Swedish. He was allotted Section 417, Lot 61 (18 acres) in Roberts Line, but did not take it up. It was sold at auction and left untouched, soon becoming a curse to the three adjoining owners. They all put Fencing Notices in the newspaper to oblige the owner to co-operate or pay the consequences. (MT 30/4/1879, 16/8/1879) He was still in Manawatu in spring 1871, but then disappeared. (misspelling: Wahlbroem, Walstrom)

[Establishment Costs: £9/10. Lot 61 payments: nil]

MAGNUS ZEBBESSEN

Magnus Zebbesen (38) joined the group as a Danish farmer. The true spelling of his surname is uncertain, and his signature on the petition of April 1871 has been treated as the 'correct' version. He was allotted Section 418, Lot 70 (23 acres) in Roberts Line; however, a note on the section map says 'Left 1872'. He then disappeared. (Misspelling: Tebbbersen, Zebblesen, Zefryesen)

[Establishment Costs: £9/10. Lot 70 payments: nil]

THE FOLLOWING ARE THE ENGLAND'S SCANDINAVIAN PASSENGERS WHO DID NOT COME TO THE MANAWATU

[CHRISTENSEN, Hans. His ticket was transferred to J.F. Braunsted (q.v.), almost certainly in Sweden. However, his name was 'erroneously' left on the passenger list.]

CHRISTENSEN, Johan Peter, (20) farmer. - Danish. Went to Canterbury on arrival.

CHRISTENSEN, Christian Jessen, (18) farmer. - Danish. Went to Canterbury on arrival.

CLEMENSEN, Caroline, (22), single woman - Danish. On arrival gained employment as a domestic servant with D. Knight in the Hutt Valley.

ERICKSEN, Peter A. (30) coachbuilder. - Danish. Remained in Wellington and was employed by a Mr Black as a coachbuilder.

[ERICKSEN, Johan P. (27) farmer - Danish. Said to have not joined the Danish party at time of embarkation, but was probably the man who failed to board in Sweden. A note on the arrival list remarks "This person was not known to the Immigrants."]

GRONWALL [or Gronwald], Hermann (27) farmer "Danish." - Nils Eugen Herman Gronwall, born 25 January 1843, at Anderslov, Malmohus, Sweden, was the son of Johan Theodor Gronwall and his wife Hilda Augusta, nee Kinberg. He may have been related to shipmate, Gustaf Kindberg (q.v.), another Swede in the Danish party.

Hermann was probably the interpreter on the *England* and had been accepted for the voyage 41 days prior to sailing, at 1/11d board per day; at the expense of the Danish agent's sub-agent at Malmo, Sweden. Hermann paid £22/4/5 for his passage, over £20 more than the token payment made by the other passengers. This was the full price of his fare as he intended to go straight to Canterbury, where his brother lived. His name had been included on the Government's assisted immigrant list, which caused some unravelling when he reached New Zealand. This was just one of the charges which had mischievously been loaded onto his account by the agents.

Hermann gave his address as 'Sudely Farm', Christchurch, in May 1871. Probably his brother was Victor August Theodore Granville [or Gronvall or Gronwall], also born in Anderslov, a veterinary surgeon who died in Picton in 1926.

Hermann was naturalised at Christchurch in 1884. A few days later, aged 41, he married Alice Sophia Hellway (22) at Christchurch. He was a coach builder. He died on 13 April 1931, at Drury, and was survived by two children. Hermann and his brother were followed to New Zealand by another brother, Anders, in 1875 and two sisters, Hilda Wilhelmina Benedicta [later Mrs Schlaat] in 1878 and Julia Eufrosyne Paulina, in 1889. (Aminoff, No. 937, 923, 936, 938, 2823)

LARSEN, Ane Margrite (34) single woman - Danish. On arrival gained employment with Danish architect C.J. Toxward as a domestic servant. Probably related to Jorgen Christian Larsen (q.v.), who came to the Manawatu, but soon disappeared. Both appear to have been the same age.

[LARSEN, Nils (21) farmer - On the Danish list, but probably a Swede. His ticket was transferred to August Gustafson, most likely in Sweden. His name was 'erroneously' left on the passenger list.]

MOLLER, Peter (30) a gardener, and his wife Henriette (26); Karen (7) Caroline (5); female infant [name unknown] aged 6 mths. - Danish. The Moller family remained in the Hutt Valley.

OLSEN, Thorvald Julius 'Ferdinand' (25) farmer, and his wife Caroline Wilhelmina (34) - Ferdinand and Caroline Olsen are an interesting diversion in this story of the *England*. They were convicted felons in Denmark and had the dubious privilege of being accompanied to the departure point in Copenhagen by the Danish Police, under whose 'care' they remained until embarkation! This must surely have created a poor impression with their future shipmates, as did the couple's accusations against one another on the subject while having a domestic dispute on

the *England*. Possibly, given their ages, the couple were also being separated from children. They later admitted to A.F. Halcombe that they had been convicted and imprisoned for stealing various articles of clothing. Needless to say Halcombe was most unimpressed, both with them and especially with Horneman, the Danish Agent who had permitted their inclusion.

Having arrived safely in New Zealand, the couple chose, or were obliged, to remain in Wellington, rather than accompanying the others to the Manawatu. No doubt there was considerable prejudice against them. They tried unsuccessfully for some time to get employment in Wellington and finally, in the depths of winter 1871, Halcombe arranged their travel to Foxton, and C.J. Toxward also provided them with a letter of introduction to give to the Road Contractor working on the Manawatu Gorge. Unfortunately the road between Foxton and Palmerston was impassable by then, and they soon had to fall back on the generosity of Toxward. They next found work in the Wairarapa, but a few days later were again on Toxward's office doorstep, saying they had had nothing to eat for two days. The weather had been very cold and wet, and they had been forced to sleep in the open during their walk back to Wellington.

On 3 August 1871 they wrote to the Superintendent of Wellington Province, explaining their position and emphasising that Ferdinand was a ropemaker by trade. They asked that if some kind of employment could not be obtained for them, given that there seemed to be no calling for a ropemaker in the region, could they instead be returned to Copenhagen, their "native place", where they were sure they would find suitable employment.

Toxward wrote to the Wellington Provincial Secretary on August 8th, advising him of the couple's sad plight. Ferdinand, he said, was confident that he could make a good living if he could get employment in his trade. Caroline was also competent at washing and at milking cows. The couple were willing to part, if that was required, to obtain employment separately. On August 16th the couple's letter was endorsed with the comment, "I think this has been settled." (NA: IM 6/7/1)

On September 26th the 'Evening Post' announced that the Government was quietly "slipping away their unprofitable proteges", including some being sent to Sydney. As a result, on September 28th the Colonial Secretary, Mr Gisborne, was asked in the House of Representatives if the passages had been paid for any of the recent Scandinavian immigrants to leave for Sydney, Wanganui or Napier. Gisborne then advised that a couple who had been "improperly selected," had "rendered themselves so obnoxious to their fellow-immigrants", that the latter wanted nothing to do with them. It was thought that their presence could have destroyed the settlement. The man [Ferdinand] had found private employment, but soon lost it. He had then set about spreading detrimental reports on the 'special settlement' [which he had never seen!] and was becoming a burden on the Wellington Provincial Government. The New Zealand Government, at the request of the Provincial Government, had agreed to "get rid" of them, and had paid, on behalf of the latter body, their passage to Sydney where the Olsens had elected to go. ('NZPD', Vol.10, 1871: 659, 669)

It must be hoped that, once free of the stigma they had lived with since leaving Copenhagen, they were able to live happily ever after - in that former convict colony, where so many had similar backgrounds.

RAMBOSE, Christian (21) farmer - Danish. Remained in Wellington. Possibly Andreas Carl Christian Ramlose, who was naturalised, aged 32, on 14 May 1883, stating he was Danish, and a settler of Blackburn.

STELIN, Johan F. (25) farm labourer; his wife Maria (25), and their daughter, Margareta (infant). The Stelin family remained in Wellington. Johan Theodor Andersson

Stelin, born 26 March 1846, in Orebro city parish, Orebro, Sweden, was the son of Olof Andersson and his wife Christina, nee Jonsdotter. In June 1870, at Goteborg, he married Maria Josefina Johannesdotter, born 6 November 1846, at Gustavi, Goteborg och Bohus, Sweden. She was the daughter of Johannes Andreasson, a postman, and Margareta, nee Andersdotter. Margareta 'Greta' Stelin was born on 4 July 1870, at Christine, Goteborg, which was also their departure point.

The family settled at Castle Point, where Johan became a hotel-keeper. He owned about 7 acres about opposite Tinui Cemetery and was a general labourer in the area. He was drowned in the Matakona River, at Castlepoint, on 2 June 1879, aged 33 and was survived by his wife and three children. Greta also died tragically, on 8 March 1881, at Tinui, aged 10 years. She was burnt to death when her clothing caught fire while she was attending some cooking over an open fire. Her mother, who was ill, was unable to get out of bed in time to help her and Greta died a few hours later. They were alone in the house at the time. On 18 February 1886, Maria was remarried at Masterton, to Robert McCullach, 41, a labourer and hotelkeeper. She died there on 3 February 1898, leaving four children. Johan, Maria and Greta are buried together in a family plot, in a secluded part of the old Tinui Cemetery. (Aminoff, N. 2911, 2912, 2913; Castlepoint Historic Committee: 54-5)

FOOTNOTE:- The Swedish recruits were described as 'farm labourers' while the Danish ones were described as 'farmers', although both meant the same thing in this instance. Seven single men, who appeared on the passenger list as emigrating from Denmark, were in fact Swedes, recruited by Wilken Horneman's sub-agent in Malmo, Sweden. Four other 'Danes', at least, were probably Swedes, recruited under the same circumstances. A brief search for the single women in the marriage registrations revealed nothing conclusive.

THE ENGLAND VOYAGE OF 1872 - A COMPARISON.

The *England's* second voyage laden with Scandinavian immigrants was far more eventful than its first. These people became the first Scandinavian settlers to be deposited in the Wairarapa bush. However, as they were originally destined for Palmerston North, their story has been given a brief place in this book. The land shown as unclaimed on the 1871 'Scandinavian and Roadmen's Block' map, mainly in the Stoney Creek Road area, would appear to have been set aside for them.

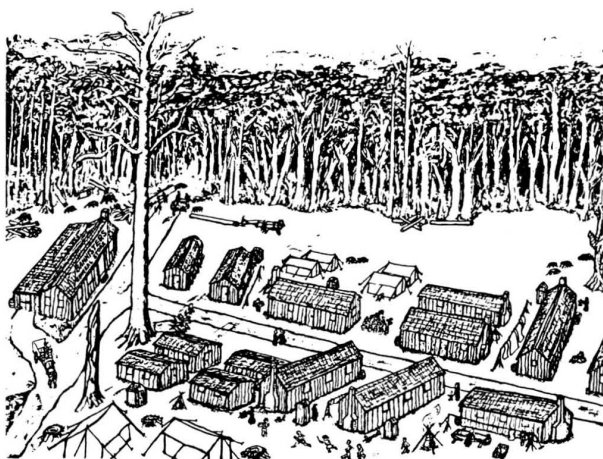
Firstly, the Danish agent, Wilken Horneman, had made some of these passengers pay their own steamer fares to London. He sent these people, and the previous year's emigrants, to England effectively as 'tourists'. Thus their Danish emigration records do not exist. He also failed to make arrangements for their care and sustenance during both the mid-winter journey, and also in England. The party had supposedly arrived in London, cold, hungry and ailing, as a result of these deprivations, although the passengers later "emphatically repudiated" that claim. (AJHR 1873, D-2A: 3)

In his evidence Captain Harrington, the ship's master and owner, told of how Shaw, Savill & Co. had had some difficulty finding a doctor for the voyage. In the end the *England* had carried a man who, prior to departure, the Shaw, Savill & Co. clerk had allegedly described as "all right" apart from having "a tile off." The clerk later denied saying this, claiming that Doctor Leigh's credentials made him appear "considerably above the average of ship's surgeons." (AJHR 1872, H-2: 4) However the doctor, an epileptic, admitted under oath that he had taken grains of opium "at intervals of one or two days several times

together (but) never in excess of that quantity.” (AJHR 1872 G-3: 15, 33) With smallpox epidemics in Europe, the doctor’s personal problems, and cramped, uncomfortable ship-board conditions, the scenario for a none too happy voyage had been set before the ship sailed from Gravesend on 8 December 1871.

Amongst the 113 passengers were at least 78 Scandinavians:- 30 ‘adults’, 34 children, 6 single men and 8 single women. [Mac Larsen’s records quote 83 persons, consisting of:- 37 Danes, 39 Norwegians, 3 Swedes and 4 from Schleswig-Holstein.] These numbers had adjusted somewhat by journey’s end, as 16 deaths occurred in the course of the voyage; these consisted of eight Scandinavian children, three Scandinavian adults, and five British children including a premature baby and four children from the same family.

The *England* arrived at Wellington on 9 March 1872, two days after the last death. The passengers were then quarantined at Somes Island, which had been designated by the New Zealand Government for the purpose in December 1868, but not previously used. After they were released from quarantine on 8 April 1872, an advance party of the men went overland to the Wairarapa to establish the Scandinavian Camp. This group comprised of fifteen Scandinavians, three Englishmen and one Scot. The latter four were probably former crew-members from the *England*. They were accompanied by A.F. Halcombe and an interpreter.



The Scandinavian Camp at Kopuaranga, near Mauriceville, where the Scandinavians from the England voyage of 1872 began their life in New Zealand. (a drawing from Mac Larsen’s ‘Happiness is Sharing your Heritage’, page 25)

These people had suffered a terrible passage and the settlement they were destined for was not even as advanced as Palmerston had been, given that the latter had consisted of a hotel and a hut or two. Their land, at what was to become Mauriceville, had not been surveyed into sections and organisation was very poor. They were forced to live for 12 or 18 months at the notorious temporary settlement known as the ‘Scandinavian Camp’. [They were resettled in two groups.] This was at Kopuaranga, six miles from their future homes at Mauriceville.

They were also subject to greater indebtedness, as the immigrants now had to pay back their passage - £7 per adult and £5 per child, for up to three children. They travelled overland so, unlike the Manawatu settlers, did not have a coastal sea voyage to pay for. However, where the earlier settlers began with debts of around £12-£13 per family, or £9/10/- for unmarried men, the 1872 families

with children began with ‘establishment’ debts of between £25-£35. Unmarried men owed around £11. Some ex-crew from the *England* who joined the party owed around £3. (AJHR 1872, D-16: 8) They then had to pay off their farms, at £1 per acre.

Once settled on their land, they had to wait far longer than those in Manawatu for a railway system to transport whatever farm produce they might grow. Their towns did not ‘mushroom’ like Palmerston North had, and thus local markets would also have been severely limited.

The people themselves were demographically different, with older and larger families now included in their number. The effects of chain migration had also appeared, with some Norwegian passengers speaking of friends and fellow villagers from Nes having arrived the previous year. There were also more from Ullern, following the six families from that district, who had arrived on the *Celaeno*.

Amongst the passengers were one Danish family who survived the smallpox and other possible afflictions, but who were fated to carry some emotional scars. They were Claus Petersen Mai, his wife Louisa Sophia, and their two young sons (q.v.).

The Inquiry into this tragic voyage has seen a considerable amount of valuable ‘oral’ history preserved. This is found in the ‘Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives,’ (AJHR) 1872, G-3, pages 1-44. AJHR 1872 H-2, pages 1-8, contains Shaw, Savill & Co.’s response. Various other items on the voyage and settlement also appear in the AJHRs of 1872 and 1873. AJHR 1872, D-16: 8, includes a partial passenger list, relating to those who settled at Mauriceville.

The late Mac Larsen, descendant of one of the families aboard, did extensive research on the voyage. His book, ‘Happiness is Sharing your Heritage’, outlines the recruitment and voyage of the 1872 passengers, and also their early years in Mauriceville. This is mainly from the perspective of his Norwegian forebears, but provides a detailed account, touching also on the previous year’s arrivals. His research material is housed in the Wairarapa Archive, Masterton, while my access to it was partly through Ray Sigvertsen’s unpublished notes (Masterton, 1993). G.C. Petersen’s ‘Forest Homes’ also covers the settlement, providing a Danish perspective. The overall account is yet to come.

CLAUS PETERSEN MAI and LOUISA SOPHIA HENDERICKSEN

Claus and Louisa Mai, with their two children, Mathias and Hans, travelled to New Zealand on the 1872 voyage of the *England*. They were described on the passenger list as “3 statute adults”. While most of their fellow passengers lived out their days in the Wairarapa and Southern Hawkes Bay, the Mai family soon moved to the Manawatu. Claus was in the unenviable position of having been the first of the many *England* passengers to develop smallpox on the ship. The resulting Inquiry provided a valuable account of the movements of these passengers as all avenues were searched to find any avoidable causes. Claus was interviewed at Masterton, before Arthur Follett Halcombe, with John Swenson as interpreter. (AJHR, 1872 G-No. 3: 35)

Claus was from the island of Als, also known as Alsen, North Schleswig, Denmark. He was born at Lannsbaye, in 1842. Louisa Sophia Hendericksen was born in 1835, at Gudesupp, in the same area. The couple married on 10 December 1863. Their two sons were born at Lannsbaye:- Matthias Petersen ‘Matt’ Mai (1864-1949) and Hans

Petersen Mai (1866-1948). The family's surname, 'Mai' [or 'Maii'], is Danish for 'May', although the significance is unknown.

Claus had been a dairy farmer and his farm was right at the border between Prussia and Denmark, following the war between the two countries. The family's decision to leave came after the Prussians arrived in their town one night and simply raised their flag over the Post Office, to symbolise their having taken control of the town. The family waited their chance and finally, when the cows were dried off for the season, they had simply walked off, leaving their cows and farm behind. About six other families from the town had done the same. It is not known if these people were also on the *England*.

The family had a complicated, but well-documented trip to London. They left their home, where they had been living for six years, on about 18 November 1871, and travelled to Copenhagen, where they stayed at a seamen's boarding-house. From Copenhagen they, and the other Danish immigrants destined for the *England*, travelled to Kiel on the steamer *Aurora*. At Kiel they immediately boarded the train for Hamburg where, in turn, they boarded the steamer for London. The *Granto* and the *Riba* were both used for the Hamburg-London leg of the journey.

At about this time there was a smallpox epidemic circulating in Europe. There was also an outbreak in London, especially in the East End. A man who lived in the Mais' village had been ill with smallpox, but had recovered several weeks before the family left. Claus had not been in contact with him.

After Claus had been on the ship about seven days, he came down with smallpox. He had the misfortune to be the first of many on the ship to do so. The incubation period to his stage would have been a little over two weeks from contact. He had been vaccinated against smallpox as a child and, after about 12 days of illness, he recovered. It was extremely painful for Claus and his family to watch the gradual demise of those who did not recover. Louisa suffered a miscarriage during the voyage while Claus, a Church Warden with the Lutheran Church back in Denmark, was so totally distraught as a result of the terrible voyage that he lost his faith. As person after person, mostly young children, died from this disease he had seemingly introduced, he simply could not understand why God would not answer his heartfelt prayers.

The disease was eventually regarded as having begun with the Danish emigrants, despite the standard practice of inoculating all children against the disease over many years. Presumably this epidemic was of a different strain. Apparently the voyage was also very rough and the Mai family understands that the passengers did not see the sun for the entire voyage.

The family, with their shipmates, were temporarily settled at the Scandinavian Camp at Kopuaranga, to await the opening up of the bush-covered land at Mauriceville. There is evidence that grieving shipmates held the family responsible and this must have distressed them even more. There was also little understanding of smallpox and of its ease [and methods] of transmission, or its actual incubation period.

Claus was charged for establishment costs of £30/7/2, which comprised Promissory Notes for the passage, of £24; cost of location to the Scandinavian Camp; and tools and household needs, of £1/17/2. (AJHR 1872, D-16: 8)

Along with his shipmates, Claus was soon working on the roads of the area. "C.P. Mai and party" felled bush on roading Section No. 6A on the 'road' between Opaki and the Gorge. This was 20 chains 63 links in length, at 1 chain in width. The party was to receive £1/6/- per chain. (AJHR 1872 D-15: 10)

Their Overseer was Alexander Svend Dreyer, another New Zealand-based Scandinavian, who was drawn to the Scandinavian settlements being established by the New Zealand Government. A Dane, born in 1820 in Holstein,

his father had been a General in the Danish Army. He had arrived in New Zealand in 1861, and spent three years as the Goldfields' representative on the Nelson Provincial Council. In addition to his duties as Overseer, Dreyer was also interpreter at the Scandinavian Camp.

Unfortunately, just as the Manawatu Scandinavians of 1871 had trouble with their Overseer, Amos Burr, so too did Dreyer clash with some of his Danish charges. This group included Claus, who had possibly become rather cynical by this time.

They accused Dreyer of being responsible for ill-feeling in the Camp and claimed they were being starved, due to Dreyer's involvement with the Camp store. He refused to allow them credit beyond their means, was allegedly insolent toward their womenfolk and they also felt the goods were overpriced compared to prices in Masterton. They were convinced that Dreyer was not a Dane, but rather a German with anti-Danish sympathies, saying he had boasted about fighting AGAINST the Danes in the 1845 Prusso-Danish conflicts!

Eventually one Dane was sent to Wellington by the immigrants to seek help and C.J. Toxward, the future Danish Consul, of Wellington, became drawn in on their side. Possibly Toxward only heard one side of the story as some of their complaints were against virtual 'acts of God'. Other complaints were that Dreyer restricted their credit, albeit that this saved them from debt. When censured by his superiors, Dreyer resigned as Overseer and gave up his involvement with the Store, although he continued to be associated with the Scandinavian Camp as interpreter.

Claus's obituary says that the family settled in Wairarapa for three or four years before moving to Feilding, although they may not have been there that long. The other passengers were allotted their land throughout 1873, and the Mai family was not amongst the recipients. Family tradition is that they were aboard the first coach to travel through the Manawatu Gorge. This event occurred in 1872. They would have left the Wairarapa coach and taken the precarious journey across the river in a cage dangling from a wire rope, to meet another coach waiting to take them to Palmerston North. The Upper Gorge Bridge opened in 1875, permitting through-traffic, and is the other potential 'first'.

They settled into their new life at Makino, near Feilding, where Louisa had two more children: Neils Petersen Mai [1875-17/5/1877] and Claus Petersen Mai junior [b 15/2/1880]. Louisa, a big, strong woman, was a midwife and was always in demand. She is also remembered for the help she gave many people in times of need.

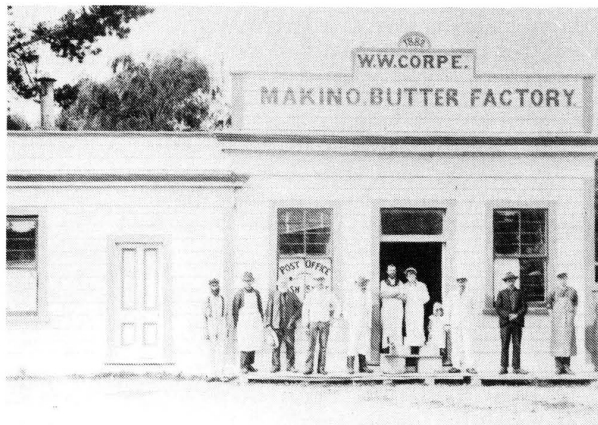


From left:- Claus Petersen Mai, H. Christensen, and Claus Petersen Mai junior, as members of the Feilding Salvation Army Citadel Band. The Band was noted as reliable, and as playing a high standard of music. All but one of its members posed for this portrait on the day, in early 1895, that the Aorangi Bridge, over the Oroua River, was washed away in a flood. The missing bandsman was stranded on the wrong side of the bridge. (Salvation Army, Feilding. This copy from Phil Lind)

Claus was finally drawn back to Christianity after they settled in Feilding. He enjoyed the music played by the Salvation Army Band on Friday evenings and on one occasion, while enjoying listening to the band, he also came to hear the words of the preacher. He said that the way to

contact God was through his son, Jesus Christ, and suddenly something startling dawned on Claus. The problem with his prayers on the *England* was that he had prayed direct to God and not by way of God's mediator, his son, Jesus Christ. This discovery of an explanation for God's lack of participation in the terrible trauma he, his family and all those aboard the *England*, had been forced to endure, totally transformed him. He once again became a dedicated Christian, following the Salvation Army faith for many years, although the family clearly had ties from the very early days to the Open Brethren faith.

Claus found work with Mr W.W. Corpe, who had arrived in the Feilding district in the early 1880s and who was to become an important figure in the Manawatu's dairy industry. Claus made hoops for the wooden butter kegs used for the butter Corpe bought from the local farmers, which he resold at his small store. In 1888 Corpe built the Makino Butter Factory and some of his butter was shipped to Britain in these butter kegs. On one occasion, in the early 1890s, there had been no room for the butter kegs in the ship's coolroom, so Corpe agreed to have the butter put in its freezer compartment. The frozen butter, in the kegs Claus helped to make, arrived in such good condition that it became the first of many such shipments. (Warr: 93-4)



William Wescombe Corpe's Makino Butter Factory, about 1900. Claus Petersen Mai made hoops for wooden butter kegs used by this factory to supply frozen butter to England. (Palmerston North Public Library)

Claus was nationalised at Feilding on 26 November 1890, describing himself as a carpenter.

By 1896 Claus had expanded his interest in the Salvation Army Band, by becoming a member of the band himself - playing the cornet. His son Claus was also a member. The Feilding Salvation Army's records for 1911 mention "Bro. C. Mai, who assists in his spare time as a cornetist. He has been 15 years as a bandsman."

Claus apparently had the privilege of two valued fellowships. In addition to his Salvation Army activities, his obituary in the Open Brethren magazine 'The Treasury,' in November 1913, said that the family had become Open Brethrens 41 years earlier [1872]. They had participated "almost ever since, mostly at Feilding, but latterly at Palmerston North."

Louisa (75) died 3 May 1910, at Feilding, after a short illness. Her obituary in 'The Treasury' fondly described her participation in Christian matters. (June, 1910)

In late 1912 Claus moved from Feilding to Bourke Street, Palmerston North, and on 16 October 1913, while returning from a visit to the doctor, he collapsed and died on the footpath in Bourke Street, near his home. He was then aged 71 years and had been suffering an acute form of heart disease. He and Louisa are buried together at Feilding Cemetery. (ES 17/10/1913)

Hans, the second son, married Elizabeth Fidler and they had 10 children. He was a gardener at Feilding when he

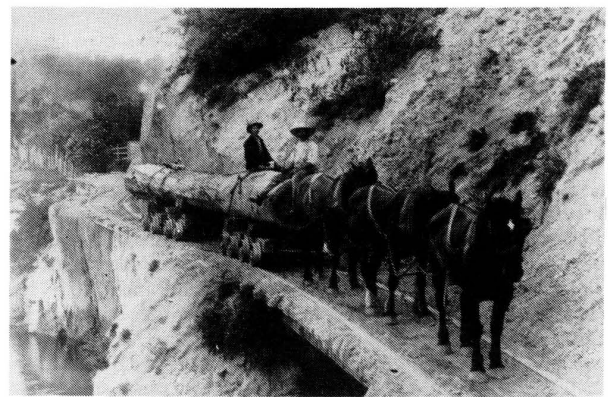
was naturalised in 1899 and by 1917 he was dairyfarming. They farmed a property on the banks of the Oroua River [Aorangi side] near Feilding, which fronted the main road. The third son, Claus junior, a cabinetmaker, was in Feilding in 1913 and later settled in Wellington. He had married Ellen Louisa Franklin and the couple had three children.

Matt Mai, the eldest son, found himself with a choice between the two local sources of employment - sawmilling or roadworks. As the latter did not appeal, he worked as a form of tinker, sharpening sawblades at sawmills, lining up planers and similar work. He became a skilled engineer and handyman. He was also a certified steam sawmill 'Engine Driver'. Gradually he worked his way, job by job, to the Pohangina Valley and then to a slab-walled sawmill cottage in Pohangina township. He married Mary Eliza Dallison, the daughter of an Open Brethren family from the Rangitikei. The couple drew a ballot for some bushland opposite the Totara Reserve, where they set about establishing a dairy farm. Probably this was around 1894, when settlers began moving into the Valley, with Open Brethren preachers from Feilding travelling across country and the river on horseback on Sundays. (Lineham: 88) Matt converted from Salvation Army to Open Brethren around this time.

Despite his dislike of roadwork, Matt worked on the roads for the Pohangina County Council for some years to provide his family with an income until the farm became viable. The Pohangina County landscape was hard on roads. Roadmen had to contend with the river and erosion destroying their hard work. Later the roads would also suffer under heavy timber wagons, causing numerous disputes between the Council and the mill owners. Finally, when the family had 13 cows, the number said to be required for self-sufficiency, Matt was able to become solely a dairyfarmer.

The couple had five children:- Alice, Mary, Tom, Claus and Olive. In 1908, by which time the children were of school age, the family moved to a farm at Raumai to escape the isolation. The children continued to travel on horseback to Pohangina School.

In 1909, Matt had suffered a very serious accident which left him with a permanent limp, and also forced him to hand the main running of the farm over to his two young sons, Tom and Claus. The farm was on two levels, separated by a steep hill. Matt had been driving a two-horse



Matt Mai is the driver of this logging tram, taken around a bluff above the Pohangina Valley. This was a short distance upstream from the old Roberts Homestead site, which, in turn, was at the bottom of Church Hill, Awahou. The man holding the axe is Trevor Madson, who would have been the brake-man when descending downhill grades on the wooden tramway, heading for the mill. The sawmill operated half a mile north of the present Raumai Bridge. Today this site can be identified near the curved bridge over the Te Awaoteatua Stream, north of No. 3 Line. This photograph is by C.E. Wildbore, a well-known photographer of activities around the Pohangina Valley, and also the brother-in-law of Matt Mai. (Photo: George Searle, Utuawai; description: Walter Mai and George Searle)

team, in tandem, attached to a dray filled with firewood. Suddenly the lead horse shied, causing the dray to overturn and roll down the hill, over the top of Matt, badly crushing his hip in the process.

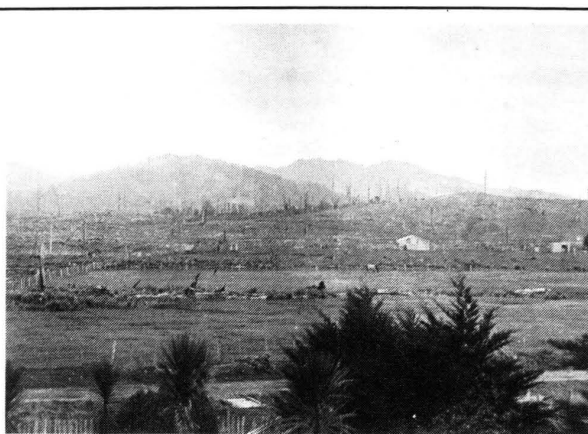
In August 1910, Raumai School opened and the children transferred there from Pohangina School, with the exception of Tom, the oldest son, who now had the responsibility of the family farm. He completed his final year at Pohangina school.

Although Matt was now disabled, he never let this get him down. He turned to bee-keeping, establishing his hives alongside the family home. His grandson, Walter Mai, recalls that Matt would put his bare hand into the hives to pull out the honeycomb-filled trays, with apparent indifference to the likelihood of stings. Walter, on the other hand, even now recalls Matt's hives with trepidation! Matt had a special separator for extracting the honey, which was all sold locally. The bees would produce different flavours of honey at different times of the year, dependent on what type of flowers were available.

The dairy farm supplied the Creamery at Raumai from 1908. The working day was long, with the task of the morning milking - taking the milk to the Creamery - waiting for it to be separated - returning home and then milking again - occupying the whole day. The original cowshed had been on the upper level of the property and the cows disliked going up the steep hill to the shed when their udders were full. This also caused delays. Later a new shed was built in a place more acceptable to bovine sensitivities. The Raumai farm is still in the family.

Mary Mai died on 8 September 1935, aged 65 years, with Matt dying on 20 May 1947, aged 83 years. The couple are buried together at Ashhurst Cemetery. The family has maintained the link with the Open Brethren Church which Claus and Louisa began over a century earlier.

(Family Sources:- Walter Mai, Palmerston North; Phil Lind, Palmerston North. Also: unpublished notes by Ray Sigvertsen, Masterton [1993] on the Denmark-London trip of the England passengers, and biographical notes on Alexander Svend Dreyer. These in part derive from Mac Larsen's notes)



Front and side views of the home of an unknown farming family - possibly from the Linton, Turitea or Aokautere area as the photos show hills in the background. The house had begun life as a small cottage, and when the family grew larger and more prosperous a substantial extension was added to the front. On the roof-top, the owner installed unusual finials which resemble the prows of Viking ships. [Contrast these alterations to those of Otto Tiller's Homestead which began as a similar cottage.]

The family, which possibly had Scandinavian connections, comprised of a blonde father, a brown-haired mother, and about four blonde children. They feature in a photo album found at the Palmerston North Public Library in 1970. The various farm scenes and landscapes shown in the album include sheep, cattle, horses and what was probably a market garden and orchard. (Photo album c1900-1920, Palmerston North City Archives)

9

THE ROADMEN'S BLOCK - STONEY CREEK

Any study of settlement in the Stoney Creek area needs to look further than just the land allotted to the *Celaeno* and *England* passengers. About 18 twenty-acre allotments were apparently set aside for the Scandinavians from the 1871-2 voyage of the *England*, however, this group were diverted to the Mauriceville area. (AJHR, 1871, G-No. 40A: 5-6) This land appears as vacant on the 1871 map of the 'Scandinavian and Roadmen's Block'. Beyond Hazelhurst Road, and stretching between Napier Road and Kelvin Grove Road, are the 27 allotments which became known as the 'Roadmen's Block.'

During 1871 there was considerable agitation from New Zealand's labouring classes to make land available to them under a deferred payment system. Without such assistance land-ownership was out of their reach.

When the *Celaeno* arrived at Wellington, its Scandinavian passengers had to be 'protected' from potential demonstrators. They were also closely scrutinised by the town's labourers for signs of favouritism. (q.v.)

Once it was clear that the Scandinavians were being assisted to purchase their land, it was to be expected that others in upper Manawatu would request similar conditions. As such, on 20 July 1871, J.T. Stewart wrote to John Knowles, Under Secretary of the Public Works Department. He stated that some men working on the public works in the Palmerston District would like to take up 20 to 40 acre allotments in the undulating bushland adjoining the Stoney Creek Scandinavian Block. Stewart, who was then working on the Manawatu Gorge, explained that some of these men were married and would make valuable settlers. They were also already trained for work on the roads.

These men wished to pay deposits on the properties and to pay the balance by installment. They also wanted to occupy their land in time to fell bush in preparation for the coming burn-off season [February-March 1872]. The surveyor, W.H. Alzdorf, was then marking out the rest of the Scandinavian Block and could begin work on this extra block with the right authorisation.

Clearly those in authority wanted to comply with this request. However, a Proclamation dated 23rd June had withdrawn the land from sale, as a large auction was pending. Also, at the time the Scandinavians were put on their land, there was no provision for selling Crown Land on credit. The General Government was going to purchase the land in question from the Wellington Provincial Government and a "special settlement" [the Karere and Stoney Creek Scandinavian Blocks] was planned for selling by deferred payment.

After the 'red tape' was sorted out, Stewart was instructed to authorise the surveyor to proceed and to collect the roadmen's deposits. These could be returned if the required Act was not passed. Fortunately the situation had a happy ending, and with the aid of 'The Wellington Special Settlements Act, 1871', the Stoney Creek Roadmen's Block was born. The Scandinavian and Roadmen's Blocks of Palmerston North became the first Crown Lands to be sold under a deferred payment scheme. (AJHR, 1871, G-No.40A: 1-5)

The only 'original Roadmen's Block' family featured in 'From Stoney Creek to Whakarongo', was that of Michael Henaghan (1847-1928), an Irishman who had come to Manawatu by way of the Australian and New Zealand goldfields. Henaghan was a single man who secured the property, but did not settle on it until after his marriage in

1879. The couple's descendants lived there until recent years. (McLennan: 29-30,100)

The transient life of former goldminers and their like, was probably typical of the group. The work was hard and the nearest civilisation was Foxton. For many, entertainment might be found in a bottle. All but one man who took up this land appear to have been British. The married men, who obtained 40 acre properties, were John Henderson, Robert Kirkpatrick and Arch Henderson. The non-British exception was the Swedish-born Enoch Frederick Charles.

ENOCH FREDERICK CHARLES and MARY ANN COLLINS

Nice family stories with happy memories are plentiful in local histories; however, these cannot possibly reflect reality. The Charles family was one of the many who were not so lucky, suffering the distress caused by conflicting values, premature deaths, and a housefire which took away records of their Swedish heritage. These were things which were not unusual in former times.

Enoch Frederick Charles was born in Sweden on 8 September 1843. It appears he was never naturalised in New Zealand and he remains a mystery. He may have arrived during the Gold Rush and, like others, drifted to the Manawatu when the gold ran out. Alternatively, he may have been an ex-sailor. He soon dropped his Swedish surname, which may have been 'Carlson'. As he is presumed to have drowned in the Manawatu River with his body never being found, no death certificate was issued. Thus any information known by friends was never recorded.

The first real record of Enoch was in October 1871, when he was one of the men working in the Manawatu Gorge who had purchased land in the Stoney Creek Roadmen's Block. He was allotted the 36 acre Section 477, Lot 21, on Napier Road. In 1871-2 Enoch paid £8/-/6 onto Lot 21, which was being sold at £1 per acre. The property value was £36.

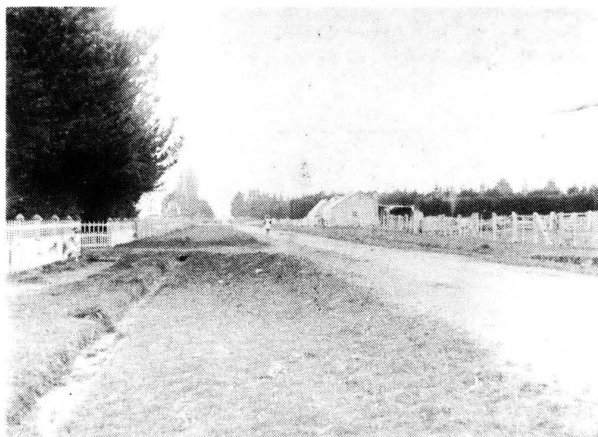
During 1872 Enoch transferred his interests from Lot 21 to Lots 42 and 43 of Section 414, about 44 acres on the corner of Stoney Creek Road and Kelvin Grove Road, and again costing £1 per acre. (McLennan: 110) This land had probably been held for the immigrants on the 1872 voyage of the *England*, who had gone to Wairarapa. Enoch had paid the property off by May 1874.

Enoch was a contractor, tendering for roading jobs which were plentiful in the early decades of Palmerston North's history. Aminoff describes him as a bridge carpenter, another of his occupations. He had a large tool box which contained all his gear for this work.

Fitzherbert Bridge almost claimed his life in 5 May 1877. While working on the bridge, he lost his balance and fell into the river, hitting his back on a protruding piece of woodwork in the process. He was quickly rescued, but suffered very badly from shock as a result. (MT 7/6/1877) His injuries soon mended and the Manawatu Highways Board Minutes of 22 November 1877 have 'Charles & Co.' being declined for a road formation tender for 'Randolph and Walker's Line' [now Walkers Road], Longburn.

There can be no doubt that Enoch was a hard worker. The Minutes of the Palmerston North Borough Council Public Works Committee are dotted with tenders being sought by him, sometimes as 'Charles and Co.' and some-

times in partnership with others including Charles Rosenthal, George Pratt, 'Collins', probably his brother-in-law, and 'McCarty', possibly G. McCarty.



Enoch F. Charles was contracted to form many Palmerston North streets over the years, including parts of Ferguson Street. The contract would frequently cover forming and metalling the road and digging ditches on either side of the road, to reduce pugging during wet weather. This photograph, from about 1896, is facing east along Ferguson Street, from between Victoria Avenue and Scandia [Albert] Street. (Palmerston North Public Library)

Enoch did road formation, metalling, curbing and footpathing throughout the town. Tenders he was awarded included metalling Albert and Duke [now Princess] Streets in 1879; metalling Botanical and Park Roads in 1880; filling a 'blind' creek in Cook Street; digging a drain on the north side of Park Road "excluding culverts"; forming portions of Ferguson, Featherston, Main and Alexander [now Victoria] Streets and Botanical Road; footpaths in Broad, Church and Main Street West in 1881. 'Collins and Charles' metalled Broad, Cuba, Short, Amesbury, Victoria and Terrace Streets, they were also responsible for the footpath formation and metalling, curbing and roadway in Church Street, ditch filling in Main Street, in 1882, and the footpath, roadway and a crossing in Rangitikei Street in 1883. From 1884-1885 the Borough Council appear to have started employing roadmen on wages and only occasionally were jobs put up for tender. In 1887 'McCarty and Charles' got the tender for metalling of Main Street.

On 24 December 1874, at Foxton, Enoch, aged 31 and mature enough to be well set in his ways, married the 16 year old Mary Ann Collins, daughter of Patrick John and Sarah Millan Collins, of Foxton. Patrick was a labourer. The product of a large Irish Catholic family, Mary had been born in Foxton on 29 November 1858. Despite Mary's Catholic upbringing, the Charles family were to be Anglicans, in line with Enoch's Protestant faith. Possibly Enoch's freehold Stoney Creek Road farm helped persuade his future father-in-law that, despite the obvious religious differences, he should be able to provide for Mary.

In the early days of the marriage the family lived at Stoney Creek. However, in 1879 Enoch purchased part of Section 558, on what is now Pioneer Highway, at Awapuni. (MT 15/11/1879) The beautiful old home, 'Kaingahou', was later built on the former Charles property, by Ditlev Gothard Monrad, a grandson of Bishop Monrad. Enoch was also paying rates at this time on land in Amesbury Street [Sec. 129, All.34], and by 1880-81, on adjoining land in Princess Street [Sec. 126]. At some point their Pioneer Highway home burned down.

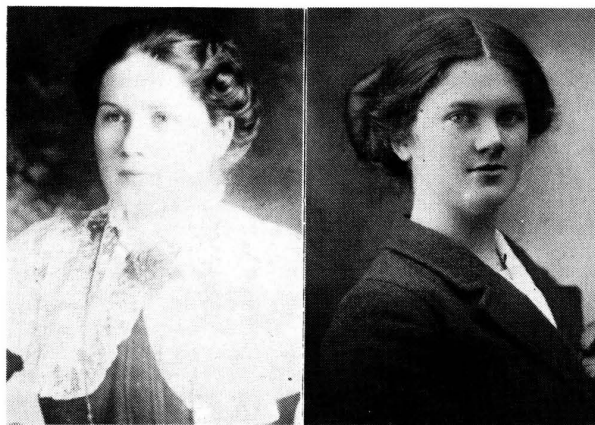
In 1890 the family sold up and moved to Ashhurst, where Enoch bought a small farm. Land the family paid rates on included Lots 51,64,126-8,130-132, of DP 152, which were in Mary's name part of the time. Some of this is now the back paddock of Ashhurst School.

The couple had thirteen children, ten of whom were born in Palmerston North. These were: Mary Christina [1/10/1875], Sarah Louisa [19/6/1877], Margaret Matilda [25/11/1878], Enoch Frederick junior [8/11/1880], Arthur William [8/5/1882], Helene Sophia 'Nellie' [29/12/1883], twins were stillborn at this point, followed by Wilhelmina Charlotta 'Elma' [8/3/1887] and Carl Constantine Adrian 'Con' [5/3/1889 - 30/9/1895]. Three more children were born in Ashhurst:- Maud Annie May [15/1/1893], John Patrick James 'Jack' [3/6/1895], and Mary Ann junior [15/12/1897, adopted surname Collins].

Unfortunately baby Mary Ann's birth was followed the same day by the death of her mother, aged 39, from complications.

Both Con and Mary are buried at Terrace End Cemetery, as no doubt are the stillborn twins, although only Mary's grave is marked. The Terrace End Cemetery records include another Arthur William Charles, a young baby who died in April 1882, about two months before the birth of 'our' Arthur William Charles. Possibly this other child was the son of Edwin Charles, a carpenter, whose family lived at Terrace End.

Mary's life is recalled as a very difficult and sad one. No doubt her story is similar to many others in her position, both past and present. Enoch was a hard man and something of a contradiction. Clearly he could be very kind and generous. He was also a victim of the demon drink. Enoch liked the races, the company of his mates, and socialising. He may be the Mr Charles who played cricket in the local team in the 1870s. Mary stayed home with her children and, despite her short life, succeeded in instilling a total loathing of alcohol in almost all of them.



(Left) Elma Charles [Mrs Munn] in the early 1900s, and (right) Mary Ann Charles Collins [Mrs Ross] (Photos: 'R.D.')

The other view the young children had of Enoch was of a very strict 'Victorian' father, who read to them from the Bible each day and who also attended the Anglican Church with the family each Sunday. Most of their children were christened at All Saints Church, Palmerston North, sometimes two at a time. He regularly returned from his roading contracts with toys for the children, which was probably something of a luxury for the times. He used to pile the money he had received from his contracts onto the table and then enjoyed throwing the small change to the children, who scrambled to get their share of it. However despite the good times, clearly alcohol caused much misery to the family and eventually brought about Enoch's downfall. There were none of the various support agencies now available to help with what was clearly a widespread social problem of the times.

Following Mary's death, the baby, Mary Ann, was adopted by Mary's brother, John Collins and his wife Annie, who was a midwife. Mary Ann grew up in Foxton, at first having little contact with her siblings, due to the religious differ-

ences. She later attended high school in Feilding, travelling by train each day, including changing trains at Palmerston North. Mary Ann [later Mrs Ross] initially studied to become a doctor, but later became a school teacher and also taught music. She is buried in the Collins family plot at Foxton Cemetery.

The other children did not have the good fortune of their baby sister. The older ones who were still at home had to care for the younger children. By then the oldest daughter was aged 22. The older girls had found employment doing housework and looking after other people's children. If problems arose at home, they had to resign their jobs and attend to the problem. Elma, aged 10 at the time of her mother's death, had to look after the younger children, including getting them off to bed.

Maud and Jack were sent to a woman up the Pohangina Valley, an arrangement which was unsatisfactory as they recalled always being very hungry. They resorted to dipping bread into the cream to supplement their diet. Children were often valued as a source of extra labour in those days, and not necessarily taken in as a kindness. Children on dairy farms were likely to be especially hard worked. [see also the Dahlstrom family in 'Skandia I': 23, re maternal death and adoption.]

The children who remained at the Ashhurst property also had to milk the family's own cows, sometimes searching in the bush nearby to find their charges which had wandered off. Enoch once asked the three older girls if they would mind if he married the neighbour - the mid-wife to Mary at her last delivery. For uncertain reasons the girls were appalled and, for better or worse, their father complied with their wishes. Finances were also a problem, especially with aging labourers, and on 4 March 1899, Enoch was declared bankrupt. Their land may then have been sold.

The memory of the difficulties the children experienced after their mother's death always remained with Elma. She used to pray that she would not die and leave her three little children motherless.

In the early days of the marriage Enoch had received letters from his mother in Sweden, but these were lost in the housefire. He said that Elma looked very much like his sister. These memories are about all that is now known of his background.

Enoch wished to see his homeland, and in 1904, made arrangements to visit Sweden - alone. However this, apparently, was not to be. Enoch's life seemingly came to a tragic end when he is understood to have fallen into the Manawatu River near Ashhurst, on Sunday, 16 October 1904. No body was ever found.

The previous week had been very wet, with considerable flooding in the Wairarapa. The Manawatu River had not been as badly affected, although a large shingle bank had been created in the river and was interfering with the Ashhurst ferry. A large slip had also come down on the railway lines in the Gorge and trains did not resume until the 15th. Despite reporting several Wairarapa deaths both by drowning and under a slip, the 'Evening Standard' does not mention Enoch's mishap; nor is he mentioned in the 'Missing Person' section of the Police Gazettes around 1904.

After Enoch's presumed death, the three older girls looked after the younger children. Elma worked at a boarding house, looking after ladies. Eventually all the children married except Arthur. The third daughter, Margaret Matilda ['Till'], married Ole Gulbrandsen who, with his parents, Lauritz and Ellen, had arrived on the Celaeno in 1871. Till Gulbrandsen died in 1954, and shares her moth-

er's grave, along with two month old Racheline Charles who died in 1904. Enoch Frederick junior, who is easily confused in the records with his father, lived at one time in Shannon and later at Bourke Street, Palmerston North. He is buried at Kelvin Grove Cemetery.

(Family Source:- 'R.D.', of Palmerston North - a granddaughter)



The Manawatu Gorge about 1890, during the construction of the railway on the northern bank. Note the derelict roadman's hut on the southern bank. (Palmerston North Public Library)



Constructing a tramline in rugged country. This tramline was constructed in the early 1900s to serve Broadbelt's sawmill at Coal Creek, near Umutoi, in the Pohangina Valley. From left are: Dick Sixtus, George Drummond, Harry Foot and possibly a Mr Johnson. (George: 148. Photo: Palmerston North Public Library)

10 DENMARK'S REPRESENTATIVES

CHRISTIAN JULIUS TOXWARD and JANE HALL HUGHES

One Scandinavian who deserves full credit for his contribution to early Manawatu history is Christian Julius Toxward. Wellington-based Toxward was a prominent architect, businessman and also Danish Consul for the Wellington Province between 21 June 1882 and his death on 30 September 1891. Clearly New Zealand's early Scandinavian community owed him considerable gratitude for the work he did on their behalf. It is not known if he received any specific recognition for this.

Christian Julius Toxward, formerly 'Toxværd', who was probably known as 'Julius,' was born in Copenhagen, Denmark on 26 November 1831, the son of Christian Heinrich Toxvaerd, chairmaker, and his wife Ane Margrethe, nee Schmidt. He studied at the Kunstakademiet [Academy of Fine Arts] between 1841 and 1851, but apparently did not pass any final examination.

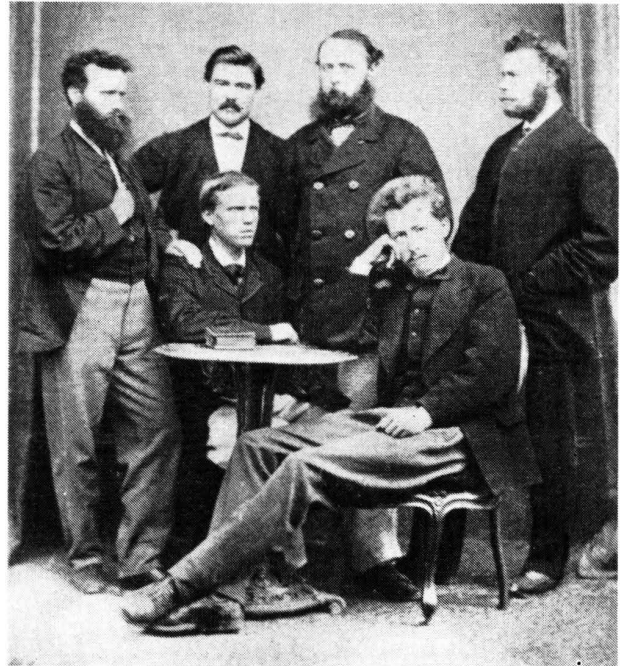
Like so many others seeking their fortune, Toxward headed for Australia and the goldfields of Ballarat, Victoria, where his efforts met with varying success. When he met the Monrad family in Wellington in 1866, he told them - and an impressionable companion of theirs - that he had been ruined three times on the goldfields. (Petersen, 1965: 76) In about 1861 he headed for New Zealand where he lived at Invercargill and was connected with the Southland Provincial Government for some time.

On 7 October 1864, at St. John's Church, Invercargill, Toxward married Jane Hall Hughes, born 2 May 1843, at Oxtou Hill, Birkenhead, England. By 1866 they were in Wellington, where Toxward was naturalised on 20 June 1867. In 1868 he purchased the Town Section No. 551 at Foxton, possibly as an investment, but maybe because of the town's close proximity to the Monrad family. It is not known what he did with it. Bishop Monrad and his family stayed with the Toxward family prior to returning to Denmark in January 1869. (Petersen 1965: 114)

Toxward was one of the earliest architects in Wellington and his design skill and public profile resulted in many commercial, religious and domestic buildings. He is acknowledged as the first major architect in private practice in Wellington and as the first to build in masonry in Wellington. Prior to this, all the city's buildings were wooden.

Many of the buildings he designed appear in Terence Hodgson's book 'Colonial Capital, Wellington 1865-1910', and it would be advisable to consult that book in conjunction with this biography. Hodgson advises also that the 1870s, and especially 1874-7, were Toxward's busiest years, with tenders published for about 20 jobs each year. These were years when considerable building took place in Wellington, mostly in wood. There was also a rush to subdivide inner city land to build small houses on, and to put through private streets, lanes and rights of way. Toxward was involved in some of these speculating syndicates, so was clearly quite comfortably off. By the late 1880s he was only advertising 2 or 3 tenders per year, so was evidently semi-retired and presumably living off rents and dividends. (Letter: 7/9/1993, T. Hodgson to VAB)

Buildings designed by Toxward included the Wellington Provincial Government Council Building in 1871, Mount View Asylum in 1872, and Joseph Nathan's large warehouse in 1873. That warehouse was then Wellington's tallest building and also the first with a hydraulic lift. In 1875 came a three-storied office and warehouse building,



Christian Julius Toxward is one of the six men in this unsourced photograph taken about 1870. It appeared in George C. Petersen's 1965 book 'D.G. Monrad.' Evidently only five names were known. The caption reads:- "Thiele, Rasmussen, Aagaard, Toxward, Johannes Monrad (seated left centre)." Probably Toxward is the man standing on the right.

with a bonded store behind, for Jacob Joseph & Co. These two brick and concrete buildings were both the first masonry buildings and the first really substantial buildings in the earthquake-prone capital.

'Old' St. Paul's Anglican Cathedral in Thorndon, Wellington, which Toxward worked on, may be the only example of his work still standing. Designed by the vicar of Thorndon, Rev. F. Thatcher, who was also an English architect, the church was consecrated in 1866. Toxward was commissioned over the next few years to design additions, complementing its Early English Gothic Style. The trusses in the crossing were designed by Toxward, as was the south transept in 1868 and the north transept and the gabled aisle in 1874. The church closed in 1964, but purchase by the Government saw it restored and re-opened to the public in 1970.

Although most of Toxward's work was in Wellington, he was responsible for schools, churches and hotels ranging between Patea and Blenheim. He also designed a number of Bank of Australasia buildings, including Sanson and Marton [1878], and Feilding [tender 1879, built 1880]. (MT 10/12/1879) It is not known if he was responsible for their building in Palmerston North.

In 1883 Toxward prepared detailed designs and specifications for dairy factories, which were published by the Government Printer. (Cochran: 546)

Although he lived in Wellington, Toxward, and later his Estate, paid rates between 1879 and 1899, on Section 902 in Palmerston North, on the corner of Church and Albert Streets. This was bare land in his time.

Toxward's obituary described him as man of considerable artistic ability who occupied a leading position

amongst the architects of the colony. At the time of his death, he had been preparing plans for additions to the Government Insurance Building.

Amongst his diverse activities, Toxward was for many years a Director of the Wellington Trust and Loan Company. He was Manager of the Wellington Quartz Crushing Company, registered 10 March 1870, which was based at his office on Lambton Quay. The mine could operate "within the boundaries of the district of the Resident Magistrate of Wellington." It was one of many mining companies formed around this time; however, as the lower North Island has never been regarded as a gold mining El Dorado, it probably met with little success. (WPGG, 1870: 27-8, 109) At some point he also became a Justice of the Peace.

The social side of Toxward's life was dominated by his involvement with the Freemasons, having been a member since about 1857. He had been a Master of the New Zealand Pacific Lodge No. 517 E.C. and also District Grand Master of Wellington, E.C. (ES 21/9/1883)

Late in 1883, while he was District Grand Master and Danish Consul, he was faced with a potentially major scandal, had his fellow masons not come to his aid. A jealous acquaintance, who gave a false name, sent a printed document to the Danish Government, stating that Toxward and others had participated in an "unconstitutional and unwarrantable" act regarding their position as trustees of a charitable trust. Toxward, who had loaned funds to the Trust, was accused of claiming more than the original 8% interest rate. Other Trustees had similar accusations levelled at them.

When the situation was unravelled, the Danish Government was advised that the extra money paid to Toxward was simply in line with increased interest rates being paid in New Zealand at the time. Toxward had originally been receiving 8% interest when the Bank rate was 10%, and then later the offending 10% interest when the Bank rates were between 10% and 12%.

Toxward described the 'suspect', in his letter to the Danish Minister of Foreign Affairs [dated 5/6/1884], as "a person who has no scruple to write, say or do anything spiteful to anyone who he thinks stands in his way..." and also as the "scum of humanity". Toxward, the reputable man with an "unassuming manner", was obviously somewhat upset by the incident! These explanations and the letter of support of his friends from the New Zealand Pacific Lodge, brought the matter to an end.

Toxward actively fulfilled the role of Consul and protector both to Danes and to other Scandinavian immigrants for over a decade, yet he had no official role until 1882. The first known appearance of Toxward in this capacity occurred when the *Celaeno* arrived in 1871. He was then employed as interpreter when the *England* arrived a few weeks later, earning £32/8/6 for his trouble. He also hired one of the single women, 34 year old Ane Margrete Larsen, as a servant. (AJHR 1871 D-No 3: 21-2; NA: IM 6,7/1)

As the new immigrants settled in at Palmerston, problems occurred. The relevant National Archives file, entitled 'IM 6/7/1', includes a number of letters of inquiry and complaint from various Scandinavians which had passed through Toxward's hands for translation, advice and support. He also assisted with petitions for improvements and similar activities throughout the whole community, and was an interpreter at the Inquiry into the disastrous 1872 voyage of the *England*.

On 16 October 1875, after at least four years of 'unofficially' performing duties on behalf of his countrymen and women, Toxward wrote to King Christian IX of Denmark:

"Your Worship, our King, - We your Danish subjects in this far away land dare to go direct to Your Majesty, because we know the interest Your Majesty has in your subjects, so far from home, and this must be our excuse for being so bold as to write to you. We wish to let you know how badly we need a Danish

General Consul here in New Zealand, and we beg Your Majesty to appoint one.

As Wellington is the capital of New Zealand and all government offices are here and at the same time it (is the) first seaport, we feel it is absolutely necessary that the Danish consul should be residing there also. The Danish people who arrive here do not know the English laws, and as complete strangers need help and guidance, it is therefore most important that we get a man as consul who can help these people.

A man like that has been appointed as the Swedish and Norwegian consul for New Zealand - Edward Pearce esq., Wellington. He is a member of Parliament, New Zealand Commander of the Voluntary Artillery and has connection with several big businesses in Great Britain.

The undersigned persons here, have started a Scandinavian Club and all the members urge Your Majesty to appoint Edward Pearce as Danish consul in New Zealand. - [signed] C. Julius Toxward, Architect, Wellington; President of the Scandinavian Club."

The letter included a postscript citing the names of Bishop D.G. Monrad, Grover Melchior and Sagfaria Clausen, all formerly of Wellington but by then in Copenhagen. It does not appear that Toxward's plea was successful, although a Consulate was established in Auckland, far from the centre of Danish activity of the times. On 21 June 1882 King Christian IX wrote:-

"I and the (Danish) Government have been urged to appoint a Danish consul in Wellington, capital of New Zealand as we have been informed that in this part of the Colony quite a large number of Danish people have settled and they need help and guidance, and they need somebody who can help them with Law and Wills and such things. Although trade and commerce between Denmark and New Zealand are of no value, the government still feels there is a need in New Zealand.

So that the district around Auckland on the North-west coast of the North Island, which has a Consulate for the whole of New Zealand, becomes smaller and just looks after that part, and a new Consulate be open in Wellington on the South-east of the North Island and being the Capital and seat of Government.

To fill that part the Danish Government has been asking the Danish people in Wellington whom and what they thought of Architect Christian Julius Toxward, and it seems his ability and character is just right for the job. And in view of what I have learned about him, it gives me the greatest pleasure to appoint him to the post as Danish Consul in Wellington and (to) be responsible for the aforementioned districts."

Finally, on 21 June 1882 he was officially appointed to the position of Honorary Danish Consul in Wellington. His activities in this capacity would most likely have been performed from his own business premises. He was understandably delighted at the honour and replied to the Foreign Ministry in Denmark on 9 September 1882:-

"Your Excellency, thank you for the letter of 30th June (that) I had the honour of receiving by the last post via San Francisco, in which you do me the greatest honour of bestowing on me the post of Royal Danish Consul for the southerly part of the North Island and the whole of the South Island, which I allow myself to thank you most sincerely.

I will do everything to the best of my ability, to serve and help the Danish community (who are) settled here in the southerly part, Mauriceville, Mellemkov [now Eketahuna], Dannevirke, Palmerston, Norsewood etc. etc., some small and some large towns.

Regarding the borderline of the Consulates. The geographic borderline I am sending you a map and the part above the red line will be Auckland district and below the southerly district including Nelson, Canterbury, Otago, Southland and Stewart Island.

About the appointment of a vice-consul, its important we get some information first. It is well known (that) because of the lack of energy in (the) vice-consulate, Danish people have had no help or protection, and it has been shown that they have been unfairly treated by the Law because of it."

Little has been traced on the family life of the Toxwards. Birth and death registrations reveal eight births and three deaths amongst the family, all in Wellington. A fourth child also predeceased its parents. These births are: Emily Laura [1866]; Emilie [1868-1876]; Anna Caroline [1869]; Alexander Julius [1871]; William Edward [1872]; Constan-

tine [1874-1874]; Marie Louisa [1875]; and Juliana Thyra [1878-1878].

Alexander Julius later owned land in Manawatu, including the former Las Lassen property (q.v.). (McLennan: 106-7; Mildon: 181)

In September 1876 Toxward had a major coaching accident on the Rimutaka slopes, when one of Hastwell's coaches overturned. He was badly injured and this led to a "well-known" Court battle - 'Toxward v Hastwell'. (MT 24/1/1877) In January 1880 he travelled to England, reportedly to seek treatment for his injuries. He made another trip in the late 1880s.

Jane Toxward died at Wellington on 19 August 1891, aged 48 years, her death coming as a severe blow to her husband. Toxward (59), who had suffered heart problems for two years, took ill five weeks later, on 30 September 1891, while visiting a friend. He excused himself and left to walk the 100 yards along Sydney Street back to his home. A short time later he was found dead on the footpath near his home.

The funeral of Christian Julius Toxward was accorded considerable attention. His coffin was draped with the Royal Standard of Denmark, upon which lay his hat and sword. Alongside were a large number of floral wreaths. Following the hearse were his two sons and then, in full uniform, M. Lostelot de Bachoue, the French consul; Mr Castendyk, the German consul; and Mr Pearce, the Belgian consul - "the other consular representatives, Mr Fisher and Mr C.J. Johnston, were out of town." Behind them was a detachment of the Permanent Artillery and a large number of friends and acquaintances, including those from the Masonic Order. The Government Insurance Department, for which he was the architect, was also well represented. The flags on the shipping and above the various consulates were at half-mast as a mark of respect.

Toxward's character and contribution were described by the Rev. Ogg, who had also conducted his funeral, at a service held on 4 October 1891 at St Andrews Church, Wellington - a Toxward creation which stood between 1878 and 1919. This testimonial bears witness to the worthiness of Christian Julius Toxward to be remembered by the descendants of the Scandinavian immigrants he helped:-

"The memory of our departed friend will long be preserved in this house of prayer, every part of which bears evidence to the skill and taste which he brought to the practice of his profession. And his memory will remain not less surely engraven, not on the material substances which he made subservient to his art, but on the fleshy tablets of the hearts of many, who in intimacy with him, knew how to esteem the honesty and manly independence of his character - as well as of many more, who in absolute want, or in need of temporary assistance, could almost certainly rely on his open-handed generosity. He belonged to that brave nation of farmers and sailors with (whom) the people of the British Isles have so much in common. And his charity and kindness to his countrymen, a considerable number of (whom) have come to this land, was unwearied, and taxed oft-times largely his time and his purse. He worthily and honourably occupied the position of representing, in this Colony, the interests of his native country, and of his native sovereign, the King of Denmark. Honest, generous, truthful, careful he was, without the suspicion of meanness and trickery in his character, which was distinguished by a certain pride which made him revolt against all that is unmanly or dishonourable. A warm friend, a good husband, and indulgent parent, we feel deeply his loss."

The couple were buried together at the Bolton Street Cemetery, Wellington. They were survived by two sons and two daughters.

Following Toxward's death, the Consulate was moved to Christchurch and Emil Christian Skog was appointed consul on 19 May 1893. Between 1884 and 1893 Skog had been vice-consul in Christchurch, under the Consulate in Wellington.

OTHER SOURCES INCLUDE: The file on Christian Julius Toxward [File No. 52, Wellington, 2/H.52-201] compiled by the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1909-45), which includes clippings from a Wellington newspaper dated 30/9/1891, 5/10/1891,

and also notes in the covering letter, dated 19/10/1992, from Wilhelm von Rosen, Archivist, 2nd Department, RIGSARKIVET [Danish Royal Archives], Rigsdagsgarden 9, 1218 Copenhagen K, Denmark. [File translated by Aase Wallis of Palmerston North] ALSO Chris Cochran's 'Christian Julius Toxward', in the 'Dictionary of New Zealand Biography,' Vol. II: 546, (Wellington, 1993); and the Friends of Old St. Paul's Society's leaflet: 'A Guide to Old Saint Paul's' (obtained 1991).

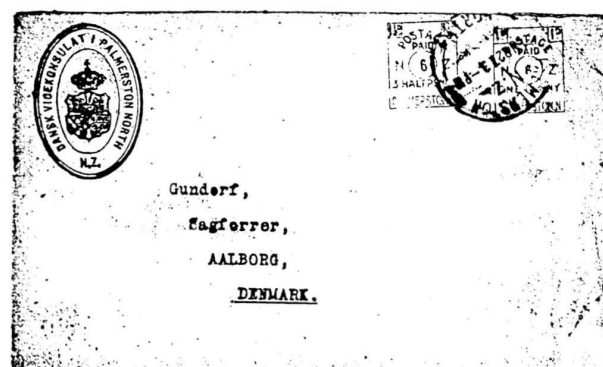
THE DANISH VICE-CONSULATE IN PALMERSTON NORTH

The Danish Vice-Consulate in Palmerston North was established with the appointment of Charles Edward Dahl as Vice-Consul on 21 November 1919. The reason for this action was the large number of Danish immigrants living in the area. When Dahl died on 15 August 1929, the affairs of the Vice-Consulate were taken over by the Consul in Wellington. Dahl's son, Leslie Victor Dahl, was appointed to the position on 4 June 1932, remaining Vice-Consul until 19 July 1934, when his resignation was granted as he was moving away from Palmerston North.

The Rigsarkivet advises that their file on Charles and Leslie Dahl cannot be copied until it is 80 years old. (Their ref: Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs 1909-45, file no. 52 Wellington 19: Palmerston North, C.Dahl, L.Dahl / H.52-202)

Between 1934 and 1948 the Danish Consul in Wellington was in charge of vice-consular affairs in Palmerston North. In 1948 the Vice-Consulate in Palmerston North was re-established with the appointment of George Conrad Petersen. Petersen had already been working in this capacity for some years. His biography in 'Skandia I' (p. 63-4) indicates that he also served as the Consul at some point, including at the transitional times when the professional diplomats, who served three year terms, were at their 'change over' point. Sometimes months between one holder of the office leaving and the new appointee arriving. Later, after the Royal Danish Consulate in Wellington was elevated to Embassy status, he frequently assisted with advice on local matters. When Petersen died in 1978, no successor to the office was appointed.

Prior to the introduction of professional consuls, delegated to a particular posting for a period of some years as part of their diplomatic career, these Danish Consuls and Vice-Consuls were New Zealand businessmen, known as 'honorary consuls.' They were not remunerated and would operate from their own premises, rather than one provided by the Danish government.



A 1927 envelope from the Danish Vice-Consulate in Palmerston North. The envelope was franked with two strikes of Postage Meter No. 6, Palmerston North. This meter was held by Chas Dahl & Co. (Pat Capill)

(Source: Letter dated 19/10/1992 from Wilhelm von Rosen, Archivist, 2nd Department, RIGSARKIVET, Rigsdagsgarden 9, 1218 Copenhagen K, Denmark, to VAB)

CHARLES EDWARD J. DAHL and ELIZABETH VIOLET TURNER

Carl Edvard Johan Dahl, better known as Charles or Chas. Dahl, was born at Kallundborg, Denmark on 6 August 1856, the seventh and youngest child of Christen Fashland Dahl and his wife Justine, nee Luja. He had four brothers, one of whom died young, and two sisters. Dahl had strong ties to Denmark, the homeland of his maternal family. However his paternal grandparents were the Norwegian-born Christian Fashland Dahl, from Quafjordnos Farm, in the Valle district of Norway, and Margarethe [nee] Campbell, born Scalpa, Scotland. This couple lived in the Tromo district of Norway, and their children were born at Arendal. All of Charles Dahl's siblings were born in Kallundborg, Denmark. His father, Christen Fashland Dahl, died at Esbjerg, Denmark in 1875.

Dahl's early career revolved around nautical activities. He learned the trade of sail and tent making in Denmark and this was to become the basis of his business in Palmerston North. In 1877 he sailed from London to Melbourne, on the American ship *Henrietta*, moving on to New Zealand in early 1878. His early years in New Zealand were spent at sea around the coasts, and he often recalled these times with pleasure, his obituary said. (ES 16/8/1929)

In February 1881, Dahl, aged 24, opened the first store in Campbelltown [now Rongotea], a drapery and general store. It was a branch of Thomas Scott's business, based in Lower Rangitikei, and was in competition with a Mr Lewers, who visited the town three times a week. There were doubts that there was enough business in the town for both enterprises. (Benson: 36) Such roading as then existed was of poor quality and Dahl later spoke of difficulties encountered when delivering goods on horses and sleds into almost inaccessible places.



Campbelltown Store, the six-roomed building, measuring 25 feet by 20 feet, which became the first store at what is now Rongotea. It was photographed by Charles Mariboe, presumably during his visit to the town in May 1883. The white-sleeved young man standing on the verandah, with his hands in his pockets, is no doubt twenty-six year old Dahl. Despite the optimistic display of his wares, he was declared bankrupt a few months later. (Keith Dahl; this copy from Bruce Harding, Palmerston North.)

At this time the country was in an economic depression and, in addition to likely competition from Lewers, a storekeeper was particularly vulnerable to the financial troubles of his customers. Thus it was not long before financial problems struck the business. Details of his Estate in October 1883, revealed that he had assets including 'town sections', probably in Rongotea, and stock in trade, valued at £753. However he had liabilities to the value of £1,461/10/7. The bulk of this debt was owed to the well-known financiers and speculators of the time: Joseph E. Nathan [£443/15/8] and L.D. Nathan & Co. [£238/19/5]. Other large amounts were owed to Loudon of Foxton [£277/16/7] and C. Law of Sandon [£116]. There

were numerous smaller debts. Thomas Scott, who had been involved with the business, had evidently died, and Dahl owed £8 to his Estate. This may have created some financial problems for Dahl. As a result of these pressures, Dahl was declared bankrupt on 24 October 1883. (MT 10/10/1883, ES 24/10/1883)

A bright spot in this troubled year was his marriage on 2 June 1883, to Elizabeth Violet Turner at Campbelltown. The couple's first child, Justine Mathilde, was born there on 7 July 1884, followed by Charles Edward on 25 July 1885.

The move to Palmerston North and the establishment of 'Chas. Dahl, Wholesale Manufacturer' in Main Street, took place late in 1885. He was still at Campbelltown when he applied for naturalisation, granted on 29 July of that year. Initially the business was alongside the Courthouse in Main Street, but was soon transferred across the road. The Company was a soft goods merchant and wholesale manufacturer of ropes, tents, horse covers, tarpaulins, oil skin clothing and shirts. It also advertised large marquees and flags for sale or hire. Dahl was very inventive and turned his hand to other things, including firebuckets for the Manawatu Roads Board. (MRB Minutes 12/12/1887)



Charles Dahl's best known establishment, his factory in Main Street, between the Square and Princess Street, photographed in about 1896. Dahl is on the far right of the photo. The building was demolished in 1968, still adorned with the words "Estd. 1885. Chas. Dahl." on its upper facade. (Palmerston North Public Library)

Another invention which the Company marketed was Dahl's Patent Butter Mould, of which it was sole proprietor in 1897. In 1892 he and George Suisted, of Campbelltown, had patented 'Suisted & Dahl's Champion Diamond Butter Mould.' (NZ Gazette, 1892: 715) This cost 8/6d and in 1897 Dahl described it as "a marvel of simplicity, efficiency and cheapness," able to turn out "exact pound pats" of butter at a rate of ten per minute.

Dahl's entry in 'Cyclopedia of New Zealand' (Vol. I: 1188) outlined the company in 1897. It had 3,000 square feet of floor space in its Main Street building, with another large two-storied drying house behind it. This drying house was purpose-built for drying the oiled clothing, which the company was said to be doing on the largest scale of anywhere in the colony. The custom was then to artificially

dry the oiled goods, to economise on space and to save having to prepare the goods too far ahead of requirements. However Dahl, considering the naturally-dried goods "vastly superior in the matter of strength," opted to depart from this rule despite the extra cost. He patented this method in 1896. The registered trade name for his oilskin and canvas products was 'HERCULES'. (NZ Gazette 1895: 376; 1896: 369)

In the shirt department no fewer than fifteen sewing machines were constantly employed. These machines included "Singer's latest improved button hole machine, laid down at a considerable cost." Each year several thousand 'HERCULES' horse covers were manufactured for sale to saddlers and storekeepers throughout the country.

The Company had two travellers constantly 'on the road' throughout the country. One North Island customer was then taking between two and three hundred oiled coats annually. The Company's rope and cordage works were in Grey Steet and "occupied a considerable space." Altogether about forty hands were employed "and a large amount is monthly paid away in wages."

Dahl imported most of the soft goods lines he sold and also the saddlery. He said that he had learned by experience that "ready money has a wonderful buying power inside the Colony," enabling him to sometimes "pick up a line" at between 5% and 10% less than its landed cost.

In December 1894 the company had completed a contract to supply Fitzgerald Bros., a circus, with sufficient tents to accommodate 2,000 people. Large marquees were made to order and kept in stock for sale or hire. "At a moment's notice tent accommodation may be provided for a thousand people. A large assortment of flags of all nations are also ready at any time for sale or hire."

As time and mechanisation marched on, Dahl's company became involved with the importation and manufacturing of dairy machinery. He travelled to many parts of the world, including six times to Britain in search of improvements to assist the industry. In April 1904 he visited manufacturers in England and Europe and, on the way home, visited the St Louis Exhibition to inspect the latest designs in coolers, freezers and pasteurizers. The "enterprising and energetic" Dahl, wished to secure the latest and most up-to-date dairy machinery. (DA 29/1/1904)

In 1907 he registered the dairy equipment branch of the business as 'C. Dahl & Company Ltd.' (NA CO-W, W3445, 1907/39) He was advertising the 'Hartnett Milking Machine', and announced that several would soon be working in the district. This equipment was being sold from his premises in Princess Street. (ES 30/3/1907) He also found time to pay another visit to Europe, sailing from Sydney on the steamer *Runie* on 17 February 1907, bound for London. (ES 12/1/1907)

In 1924, when he retired from the business, Charles Dahl sold the dairy machinery part of the company to the National Dairy Association of New Zealand Ltd. The same year the canvas-goods portion of the company was sold to Huntly J. Falkner, who re-established it as the Manawatu Canvas Company Ltd.

Charles and Elizabeth had another five children in Palmerston North:- Norman Luja (14/8/1888), Leslie Victor (25/5/1890), Pearl Constance Gwendoline (10/2/1892), Theodore Nicholas (31/3/1896) and Oscar Sydney (14/7/1906). All except Pearl married. She became a Matron, but died in Denver, Colorado in 1931, aged 39.

The family was living in Princess Street, by about 1896, and Dahlia Street, which links Princess Street and Victoria Avenue, is named after the family, who owned part of the land it was subdivided from. Dahlia Street went through in two sections, beginning at the Princess Street end, near the family home. The name 'Dahlia' is a play on the surname 'Dahl', apparently so-named to accommodate the misplaced anti-German bigotry of the World War One years. The Dahlia plant owes its name to a Swedish botanist named Anders Dahl (1751-1789).

By late 1917 Charles Edward Dahl junior was a farmer in Kelvin Grove, where he became a source of interest for the community - and confusion to local historians! According to the 1917 'Roll of the Second Division of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force Reserve', he was a 'Class E' Reservist [ie. a man with 4 children]. He owned the 33 acre Scandinavian Block property in Roberts Line, Kelvin Grove [Sec. 418, Lot 71], which had once belonged to Hans Martin Andersen, from the England. The Dahl family were remembered by near-neighbours, Sidney and Lydia Burr [nee Christensen-Dahlstrom], for their method of getting milk from the cowshed [then near the present Roberts Line Pumping Station] to the roadside milk stand. The milk bucket was hooked to an endless rope and pulley, then the rope was pulled, hand over hand, until the bucket reached the can at the roadside. It was then supposed to automatically tip the milk into the waiting can. The scheme was recalled for the times it did NOT work!

Charles Dahl retained a strong interest in the land of his birth, and when the decision was made to establish a Danish Vice-Consulate in Palmerston North, nearer the centre of the Danish community of the times, he was selected for the position. The appointment was made on 21 November 1919 and the Company office became recognised by the people of the area as the office of the Danish Vice-Consul, in addition to its normal business activities. Fortunately the Consular business was fairly light throughout the whole period it operated. From 1924, when the company was sold, consular affairs were, no doubt, conducted from his home.

In 1926 his activities to his fellow countrymen and women, and to Denmark, were recognised by the King of



The Dahl family home in Duke Street [now Princess Street], Palmerston North. Charles Dahl is behind the fence. The Dahl children pose with three women. From left:- Leslie, Norman, Charles junior, two unknown women, Pearl, Mrs Frederick Johansen, Theodore on the tricycle, and Justine. As Theodore, born 1896, appears to be about two years old, the photo must have been taken about 1898. (Palmerston North Public Library)

Denmark, with the granting of the much coveted Danish decoration, the 'Knight of the Ensign' ["Ridder af Dannebrog"]. This was the highest honour the King could bestow, short of a peerage. In the later 1920s he was delighted to receive at his home the officers from the Danish scientific research ship *Dana* while their ship was visiting New Zealand.

Charles Dahl died suddenly at his home at 3 Ward Street, Palmerston North on 15 August 1929, aged 73 years, following an attack of influenza. He was survived by his wife and seven children. Elizabeth later moved to Napier where she died on 24 September 1950, aged 85 years. They are buried together at Terrace End Cemetery, along with their daughter, Pearl. (ES 16/8/1929 & MT 16/8/1929, Terrace End Cemetery Records.)

Family source: Mr K. Dahl, Kerikeri. (By way of Palmerston North Genealogical Branch's Early Settler Files.)

11

SOME OTHER FAMILIES WHO HELPED SETTLE MANAWATU

CARL JOHAN FLYMAN ANDERSSON and ANNIE SARAH GALE

Carl Johan Flyman Andersson was born 15 May 1853, at Ugglemad, in Torsas Parish, Kalmar, Sweden, where his father, Andreas Petersson, was a crofter. His mother was Gertrud (sic), nee Carlsdotter. In 1854 the family moved to Slatafly, in the same parish, and his father's name and title was changed to 'batsmans' ['navy soldier'] Andreas Petersson Flyman. Carl had two sisters and a brother, Erik, who emigrated to North America in 1889.

Although he has become most commonly known as 'Anderson', Carl obviously held firmly to the spelling 'Andersson'. In addition to his naturalisation and 1917 Alien Register entries, his name stamp used on the Rongotea Dairy Factory records is also spelt 'Andersson'.

Swedish records state that 'seaman' Carl Johan Andersson left the Parish of Torsas in 1876 or earlier. The 23 year old arrived in Hamburg or Cuxhaven, where he boarded the *Fritz Reuter*, reaching Wellington on 7 August 1876. Probably he was one of those recruited on arrival by a Mr Brisman, who had been sent to Wellington by the manager of the Oroua Downs Estate, to obtain new workers for that station. They were contracted to clear 50 acres of flax and scrub each and after fulfilling their contracts some, including Carl, purchased land and remained in the Rongotea district. (Benson: 13)

Another *Fritz Reuter* [1876] passenger who settled at Rongotea, Mr Ehrhorn, said conditions were primitive in the tent camp where they lived. It was about a mile from the station homestead and basic rations such as meat, tea and flour were supplied from its store. For their six month contract [to clear 50 acres], they were to receive at the conclusion the minute payment of £5, and 10 acres of land on the Himatangi-Bainesse Road. However this sand dune country was not suitable for intensive farming and although some tried to make a go of it by aggregating their land, others abandoned it or continued working on the station. Some eventually bought bush sections when these became available, paying a deposit with the balance over the following 4 years - at 10% interest. Given the financial burden and the economic depression of around 1880, many would-be farmers were unable to keep up their payments. (Benson: 14.)

It is not known what procedure Carl followed, although he described himself as a farmer when he was naturalised at Campbelltown [Rongotea] on 29 May 1879. His eventual clearing sale indicates that 1881 was the year he first took up dairy farming at Campbelltown, progressing over the following 22 years into a major dairy producer in the district.

On 19 January 1881, Carl married Annie Sarah Gale at the home of J.W. Gower, of Carnarvon. Annie, the daughter of William Nash Gale and his wife Elizabeth, nee Baker, had been born in Exeter or Bristol, England, in about 1851. At the time of her marriage she had been in the Carnarvon area about eight months, possibly working for the Gower family. Mr Gower was the councillor for Carnarvon on the Manawatu County Council around that time. Carl and Annie's descendants still have some family silver with the name 'Gale' on it. The couple's only known child, William Carl, called 'Bill', was born on 28 February 1883.

At first, Carl had a 100 acre farm on the corner of Kaimatarau and Banks Roads, near Rongotea. The house



Carl and Annie Andersson in later life. (Colleen Cameron)

he built there in about 1890, and on which he obviously lavished much woodworking skill and care, was sold in 1985 to Mr and Mrs Bray, and shifted to 102 Atawhai Road, Palmerston North, where it has been restored. This 'Andersson Farmhouse' was joined in 1986 by that well known cottage of the same name, built by another Swedish couple, Peter Johan and Maja Anderson, at Whakarongo (q.v.). Violet Will, whose uncle, Clement Clavey, bought the farm in the 1890s, especially recalls the sitting room of the house with the beautifully decorated ceiling Carl had created - a basic tongue-in-groove ceiling with short lengths of moulded timber laid out to form 64 squares, the centre of each square containing a small wooden circle. These he painted in a pink and green contrast, and framed with a gold cornice. The local carpenters thought it a great achievement. This decoration set off its bay window and beautifully carved mantelpiece.

Behind the house was a 'cheese making house', with a 'Maori whare-shaped' roofline and a sunken floor. The eaves of the building were quite close to the ground and were intended to shield air vents along the tin-lined walls. These were needed to keep the cheese cool. This building was demolished in the late 1980s.

Carl next purchased a farm in Penny's Road, where he built a large single storey house on a hill. This house has now been subdivided out of the farm.

Carl was notable both for his farming achievements and also for his community spirit. He was Chairman of the Campbelltown School Committee in 1893 and was President of the town's 'Mutual Improvement Society', a Method-



The two rejuvenated 'Anderson farmhouses' on the corner of Atawhai Road and Clifton Terrace, in 1993. On the right is the former Whakarongo home of Peter and Maja Anderson (ex-England). On the left is the former Rongotea home of Carl and Annie Andersson. (Val Burr)

ist Church group, in 1895. FS 27/4/1893, 30/5/1895). He is thought to have built the first Methodist Church in Rongotea in 1892-3 [demolished 1979]. He also supervised the volunteer labour which helped build the Rongotea Church of England in 1895. At some stage he was also appointed as a Justice of the Peace.

According to his son's obituary, published in the 'Te Awamutu Courier' in October 1942, Carl was one of the first breeders of Holstein [now called Friesian] cattle in New Zealand. He began his more visible role in the rural community in 1883, when he became one of the Provisional Directors of the proposed Campbelltown co-operative cheese and bacon factory. (MT 11/4/1883, 11/5/1883) This did not go ahead in Campbelltown. A meeting was held at Feilding a fortnight later, and the following year William Wescombe Corpe opened his first butter factory there as a proprietorship. (MT 23/5/1883; Benson: 47)

According to the sign on the building [c1900], but not to later accounts, it was in 1891 that Corpe opened the first

dairy factory in Campbelltown. He was responding to requests from suppliers there, who had been making daily trips to Feilding with their milk. Corpe exported butter to England, and when prices slumped in 1894, his brother in England warned him to sell, saying there was no future in butter. For this reason he offered the local farmers the option of buying out his dairy factory or seeing it close. (Benson: 48) The local farmers chose the former option and, in their first year, increased from 10 suppliers to 60. As one of these suppliers in 1894, Carl became one of the first Directors of the Campbelltown Co-operative Dairy Company, and the Treasurer in 1895. The following year the town, and thus the Company, changed its name to Rongotea.

An important feature of Carl Andersson's story was his involvement with the earliest successfully operated milking machines in the Manawatu. It was also claimed that these were the first such machines in New Zealand - although that must be treated cautiously. In 1897, Andersson and three other Company Directors agreed to trial four of five machines, on behalf of the Cunnington Pulsator Milking Machine Company of Christchurch. Possibly they were the milking machines 'imported' by "a Rongotea farmer" in 1897. (FS 28/7/1897) Of the four machines, one was operated by man-power, two by treadmills and one by steam engine. (Croucher 1945: 12-13) The fifth machine, tested by an Awahuri Dairy Factory supplier, was apparently man-powered. (Croucher, 1947: 43.)

Although the power source of the Andersson machine is unknown, he was certainly familiar with steam engines. Oil engines, let alone electricity, had not yet been introduced and there was considerable difficulty in providing a suitable power source to obtain a uniform speed. This, and hygiene problems, hindered the early development of milking machines.

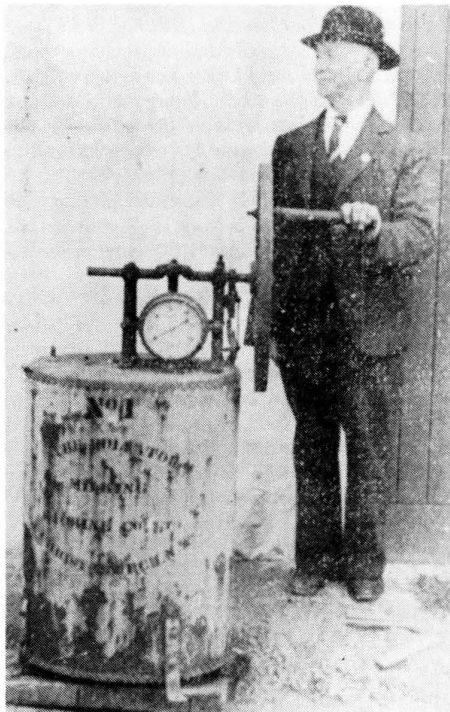
Soon after the trial of 1897, or maybe as part of the trial, one of the former trialists, Samuel Knight, installed a milking machine (FS 11/3/1898). Then in November 1898, Carl also announced that he had "received the necessary material for driving his milking plant by horse power. This is to be erected at once. The milking machine has been ordered (for) some time, but has not yet arrived. It is capable of milking sixteen cows at a time. This will considerably lessen the time spent milking." (FS 12/11/1898)

More correctly, such innovations increased herd sizes! With only one son, all three Anderssons must have worked very hard and were probably reliant on paid assistance.

In addition to his dairy interests, Carl was also prominent in the pork industry, having been appointed a Director of the proposed Palmerston North Co-operative Bacon Curing Company, and also, in his absence, onto the Provisional Directorate of a bacon curing factory to be established in Feilding. He had to decline this second appointment due to his prior commitment to the other Company (letter to FS, 31/5/1899). The Anderssons raised Tamworth and Berkshire pigs.

The Andersson business interests were quite diverse. Carl was granted permission by the Manawatu Road Board in 1900 to operate a traction engine with two trucks [trailers] to convey produce and goods between Rongotea and Palmerston North. He was prepared to carry produce, merchandise and furniture between Palmerston North and Rongotea "at amazingly low rates". He was well supported and was booked up weeks ahead. (FS 13/6/1900; MT 1/10/1900)

The Manawatu's roads were not yet ready for motorised transport and Carl had to contend with a variety of obstacles. The traction engine driver was charged with breaching Manawatu Road Board bylaws after driving over a culvert on Rongotea Road without first laying down planks on the bridge. Fortunately for Carl the case was dismissed. His daily traction 'train' service between Rongotea and Palmerston North forced the Manawatu County Council to

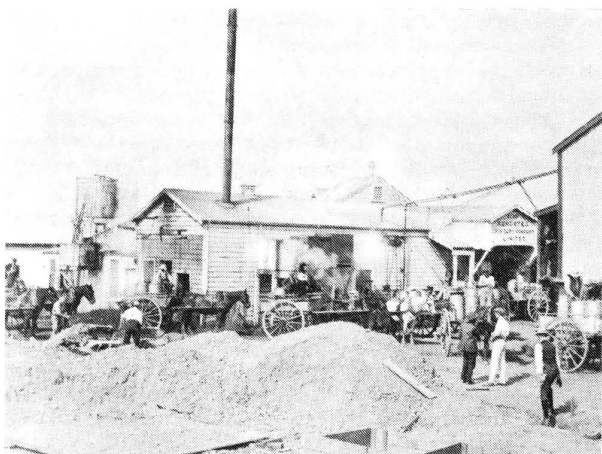


Mr Holben, of Holben & Kirk, poses with one of what were claimed to be the first five successfully operated milking machines installed in New Zealand. These were manufactured by the Cunnington Pulsator Milking Machine Company, of Christchurch. One was trialled by an Awahuri farmer, and four by Rongotea farmers, including Carl Andersson. This is one of the hand-operated machines. (Palmerston North Public Library)

strengthen the road bridges to take its weight. The Council also passed bylaws to safeguard the anxious people from these new 'monsters'. They were restricted to a top speed of five miles per hour on the open road and three miles per hour through settlements. Also a person had to precede the traction engine with a red flag, or red lights at night. In late 1901 the Council ordered Carl to stop parking his vehicles on the roadway around the Rongotea Square [alongside the dairy factory] following 'numerous complaints.' (Holcroft: 43) Apparently Carl owned more than one traction engine, as the meeting of the Kairanga County Council for 21 July 1903 granted him a permit to bring "them" into its district for repairs.

In 1902, while repairing his traction engine, Carl was seriously scalded about the face by hot water which sprayed from a tube as he removed it. A few days previously he had been thrown from his gig en route to Palmerston North, but fortunately with little ill-effect on that occasion. (ES 18/1/1902)

In about 1900, Carl utilised his skills to draw up the plans for a new up-to-date wooden dairy factory building at Rongotea, also supervising construction. This was to replace the original factory, built by W.W. Corpe in 1891. The new factory and accessories brought it into line with the best in the country, although even that was sufficiently out dated to require a new brick building by 1911.



The Rongotea Co-operative Dairy Company buildings, which Carl Andersson designed in about 1900. (Palmerston North Public Library)

The Anderssens remained dairyfarming in Rongotea until 23 September 1903, when they held a very successful clearing sale on their property. The sale notices and report indicate that he had been dairyfarming for 22 years and that the high quality of his herd was the result of years of systematic culling. The 100 cows offered were described as very heavy milkers and second to none in the district. They consisted of Holsteins, Durham Shorthorns and Ayrshires. Brisk bidding by the large crowd reached an average of £11/13/6, including one cow selling for the considerable sum of £26, and the aged purebred Holstein bull selling for £40. A number of purebred and store pigs were also sold. Noted also was the very impressive luncheon on the day, and also the transport from Palmerston North. They had arranged that would-be buyers from the north and south bound trains, and also from Feilding, would be met and brought to Rongotea for the sale.

At what point the Andersson's financial difficulties began influencing Carl's actions is unknown; however Violet Will recalls that Carl told her uncle, Clem Clavey, who had purchased the Anderssens' original farm, that after leaving this property, he had "only had a pound but had spent 25 shillings". She thought that possibly he had got too large for the times and that farmers were unable to pay their bills for his contracting services.

Carl turned from the more labour-intensive dairy farming, toward agriculture and related services. He developed his contracting and carrier business and also began a successful conversion of the property to the agricultural side of the farming industry. This would have been easier for father and son to handle between them. He also entered samples of his produce into the Manawatu and West Coast Agricultural and Pastoral shows. He won prizes in 1905 and 1909 for Algerian Oats, Cape Barley, cocksfoot and ryegrass.

His financial problems apparently came to a head with a major fire on 22 April 1912. His granary "situated on the [Foxton-Sanson] tramway side of Penny's Line.", plus its contents, were destroyed. Lost in the fire were 300 sacks of grain and 20 tons of chaff. Several wagons, loaded with grain, were standing on the siding. They were pushed clear. The building and grain were insured, "but the amount was not sufficient to save Mr Anderson (sic) from suffering a heavy loss." (ES 23/4/1912)

Possibly this finally forced the family off their farm, as the same year Carl Andersson, flaxmiller, was granted a licence to cut and remove flax at Rangipo-Waiiau Maitangi Village and Minia Suburbs. He was declared bankrupt at Karioi on 11 July 1913. At some time during 1913 Carl and his son, Bill, took up a large track of virgin land at Karioi. This land had been part of the former 140,000 acre Karioi Station, at the base of Mount Ruapehu. The area responded very well to cultivation and Karioi oats were in demand nationwide as horse feed. The Anderssens did extensive ploughing and topdressing, and eventually developed their land into a very good property.

The Anderssens still visited friends in the Rongotea area from time to time. Winnie Barnaby, nee Davis, remembers them visiting her home when she was a child. She recalls that Carl's distinctive 'transparent' eyes, reminded her of the type of clear glass marble which has only a twist of colour inside. Winnie also recalls his strong accent and that Annie taught her to crochet.

On 4 August 1920 at Karioi, Bill married Gertrude Theresa White who had been born at Kihikihi in 1883. The couple, with their two children, Thomas and Kathleen, remained on the farm until 1930, finally leaving to work on a farm at Pio Pio, as the Karioi farm could not support all of them. Bill had worked for 10-12 years for the Karioi Fibre Co., a flaxmilling company, where he and his skills with farming and machinery were highly regarded.

Carl and Annie apparently remained on the Karioi farm until Carl died aged 79, on 5 May 1932. Annie then moved to Ohakune, where she died on 30 November 1937. The couple are buried at Ohakune.

Bill worked on various farms between 1930 and about 1941, when the family moved to Kihikihi. He then became a truck driver for the New Zealand Co-operative Dairy Company at Te Awamutu. In 1942, while he was loading butter onto a truck at the Te Awamutu Railway Station, he slipped and a butter box, weighing 60lb, fell onto his abdomen. The resulting damage led to his death eight days later on 21 October 1942.

Family Source:- Colleen Cameron, Taupo. Rongotea Oral History- Winnie Barnaby and Violet Will, both of Rongotea. Published sources:- Allen (1984); Aminoff, (No. 118); Benson: 57-8; Bradfield (1962): 82; Coucher (1945): 12-21 and (1947): 43; Holcroft: 43; Petersen (1973): 210, 223. Also the Rongotea Dairy Factory records held at Massey University Library. (Abridged from original story of Carl and Annie Andersson, Rongotea - by V.A. Burr.)

DOCTOR KARL GUSTAF TEODOR BRANTING and ELLEN THERESA KNIGHT

Karl Gustaf Teodor Branting, known as 'Teodor', was born at Nysund, Varmland, Sweden on 2 April 1859, to Carl Johan Branting and his wife Maria, nee Crumlinde.

He became a Member of the Caroline Medical and Surgical Institute, at Stockholm, in 1883.

While it is not known when he came to New Zealand, the arrival of a doctor who spoke their language must have been greatly appreciated by the Scandinavian community. On 15 April 1886, he wrote his 'Notice of Intention' to have his name placed on the New Zealand Medical Practitioners' Register as from 1 June 1886. This appeared in the 1886 New Zealand Gazette (page 521). He was then residing in Waipawa.

This was obviously a special year for Teodor as he also married 31 year old Ellen Theresa 'Nellie' Knight on 10 November 1886, at the Lutheran Church, Dannevirke. Nellie had been born at Ashorne Hill, Warwickshire, England, on 17 April 1855. Apparently the age difference was of some concern to the couple, as on their marriage certificate Teodor stated he was 28, when in fact he was 27, while Nellie stated she was 29, when in fact she was 31.

The Knight family had drifted out to New Zealand in six stages, initially settling in Clive, Hawkes Bay. The two eldest sons came in 1864, followed by their father, William Knight, and another son; then their mother Augusta, nee Smart, and a daughter. Nellie, however, had remained in England for the time being, to keep an eye on the two youngest sons, who were finishing their schooling. They reached New Zealand in 1870 and 1872. Nellie did not make the journey until about 1878, possibly having remained with a maiden aunt.

In 1877 Nellie's oldest brother, William Frederick Knight, became part-owner, with F.G. and H. Cowper, of the Kaitoki Station, which spread throughout the Tahoraiti, Tiratu and Kaitoke districts, and was five miles south-west of Dannevirke. This had been one of the earliest stations in the area and by then consisted of 16,145 acres. Knight Road and Cowper Road in the Tiratu district indicate the extent of the property. (MacGregor: 89-90). Knight became very involved in the sawmilling industry in the region and had interests in many sawmills, including those of the Totara Sawmilling Company and the Tiratu Sawmilling Company. The district still known as 'Timber Bay,' so-named after Swedish-born Henry Carlson's sawmill, was then Knight-owned land. Other members of the Knight family became merchants, land owners and farmers. Clearly Teodor's in-laws were quite well off.

[It is proposed to explore the partly Palmerston North-based Tiratu Sawmilling Company, which has Scandinavian links, in 'Skandia III', which will focus on its 'competitor', Richter Nannestad & Co.]

The New Zealand Gazettes record Teodor's various locations in the Annual List of all Medical Practitioners. Between 1887 and 1889 he was practising at Woodville and from 1890 onwards he was at Otaki. His career unfortunately came to a premature end sometime before his death at Wellington, on 18 September 1894, aged 35. The couple had no children.

The Branting marriage had proved to be an unhappy one. It is understood that at some point Nellie's brothers became concerned and took her home. Teodor was suffering from a diseased heart and right lung, and also had long-standing problems with pleurisy. It would appear that while attempting to ward off the pain of his illnesses, Teodor had probably become a morphine addict, being described at the inquest as "formerly (being) in the habit of taking very large doses of morphia." No doubt this, along with his pain, left his career in tatters and also left Nellie in a vulnerable position. In about March 1893 he attempted suicide and about six months later he was admitted into the Mount View Asylum, at Wellington. Despite this, he was generally regarded there as being "perfectly sane" - even by the dubious standards of the time! Although Teodor must always have been in pain, he was able to do some work at the Asylum, collecting goods, including morphine [with the knowledge of his doctor] from the local chemist on occasion.

On Monday, 17 September 1894, Teodor was discharged from the Asylum, booking himself into the Tramway Hotel, Adelaide Road, Wellington. The next morning he visited the chemist where he was known, and recognised as a medical man. He managed to obtain 6 grains of morphine [25 tablets]. He also attempted to obtain 8 ounces of prussic acid, supposedly required by the Asylum. His request for the extremely poisonous prussic acid was turned down when he could not produce an order form, the Asylum advising the true situation by phone. Teodor returned to his hotel, where he became ill and requested Doctor King from the Asylum be called. Doctor King refused to come, as Teodor was no longer in the Asylum's care! No other doctor was called.

Presumably the pain was too great as a short time later the hotel staff found him dead. He had consumed the whole 6 grains of morphine he had purchased.

Nellie did not remarry, and the comfortable circumstances of the Knight family meant she did not have to seek paid employment. Two of her brothers were bachelors and they probably provided her with plenty to do. She was remembered as a favourite aunt by her nieces and nephews.

Nellie appears in the naturalisation records as "Swedish (by marriage)," despite being English by birth - she had lost her own nationality the moment she married a 'foreigner'. She officially regained her British status on 18 January 1923 at Dannevirke, at the age of 67. Nellie died at Wellington Hospital on 20 December 1940, her "usual address" then being 39 Henry Street, Wellington. (Aminoff No. 489)

(Knight family source: Nancy Croad, Auckland. Also: A. Turnbull Library: Geneal. Col. 70, from 'NZ Times' 20/9/1894)

A FAMILY NAMED BRODERSEN

The following story, contributed by Margaret Lyne, of Palmerston North, reveals some of the difficulties encountered during genealogical research. The Brodersen story was found to contain many unusual twists, and some pain, both for the subjects, and also in some ways, such as ethical grounds, for the article's writer. Margaret was fortunate that the surname was uncommon in New Zealand.

After my mother, Margaret Pearl Waller, passed away on 8 November 1991, I received her mother's birth and baptismal certificates, writes Margaret. My mother had been an only child and a few years earlier she had given me a Danish prayer book that had belonged to her grandparents. Neatly written in the back of this book are the words: "Rasmus Peter Brodersen, er Født 1835 den 10 April; Maren Hansdatter Frandsen, er Født 1829 den 10 Sept; Hendrik Iver Brodersen, er Født 1863 den 3 Desebr; Skreven 1888." I later found that these were birthdates and that "Skreven" translates to "this was written."

The certificates told me that my grandmother, Mary Amelia, was born at Shannon on 31 October 1895 to a Danish-born couple, Henry ['Henrik'] Iver and Annie Magdelene Brodersen, nee Brodersen. Henry had been born in Haderslev, Schleswig, and Annie in Rise, Schleswig, on 24 May 1873. They had been married at Palmerston North on 18 June 1894. My grandmother, Mary Amelia, had been baptised in 1896, in the home of her maternal grandfather Jorgen Brodersen. Her maternal grandmother, Maren, had died the previous year.

As I read this information and the words in the prayerbook, fond memories of my dear grandmother, Mary Amelia Wright [formerly Gray, nee Brodersen] came flooding back. Oh how I wish I had spent more time talking to her and listening to her talk about her family. Nevertheless the few memories I could recall were enough to set me seeking the Brodersen family history.

I remember her reminiscing to my future husband, Philip Lyne, and myself, about how her mother had drowned when she was a young child and that as a result she had

been raised by her paternal grandparents at Levin. Her older sister, Jemima Phoebe, "Aunt Mima", had grown up with their maternal aunt and uncle, Petrea and Heinrich Nielsen, at Matarawa, near Carterton. I don't remember Grandma speaking much about her father.



From left are Mary Amelia Brodersen [Mrs Gray]; Petrea Nielsen, nee Brodersen, of Carterton, who with her husband, Heinrich, had raised her niece Jemima; and Jemima Brodersen [Mrs Lee]. Photographed in the mid-1930s, probably at the time of their first meeting. (Margaret Lyne)

Grandma told us that she and Jemima were finally reunited many years later through a mutual friend, by which time they were both married and had a teenage child each. Jemima's husband, Clarence Eli Lee, had been in the Air Force in Britain during World War One. He was killed on 10 November 1918, the day before the armistice was signed. Jemima and her only child, Andrew, had been living in London at the time and subsequently returned to New Zealand. In later years Andrew was awarded an 'MBE' as a result of his career in the Airforce. Jemima never remarried and died in Christchurch in August 1984.

I remember Grandma saying that she had to speak Danish at home, as her grandmother could not speak English. "Oh, go on Grandma! You can't speak Danish!" I exclaimed. "I can so," came the reply. "Okay then, say something." She then spoke a string of words, unintelligible to me, which translated to "I love you both very much." Dear Grandma did not live to see us marry in 1966. She passed away at Palmerston North in January 1962 and was buried at Rongotea Cemetery.

After my mother's death it became important to me to research and record as much of our family's history as I could, for future generations. Had I known what a mammoth and expensive task it would prove to be, I doubt if I would have begun! I have developed the belief that even though you may not be able to break through brick walls, you can nearly always find a way around them!

I found that two Danish Brodersen families had arrived on the Westland on 3 October 1883. The first was Jorgen (35), described as a Prussian labourer, and his wife Maren (36), with their children: Petra (15), Magdalen ['Annie'] (9), Antreas (7) and Amelia (1). The second family, described as Swedish, was Maren (34), with her children: Andrew (6), Hawine (4) and Mado (1). Both families were met by Frederick O. Brodersen, whose address was c/- Mado Brodersen of Featherston. This latter Mado [Matz Josias] Brodersen, had arrived on the *Reichstag* in 1874, with his wife Marie, and son, Andreas [Andrew]. It transpired that Frederick was Maren Brodersen's husband and that this family later emigrated to La Plata, Argentina around 1910, with descendants subsequently appearing in Canada.

Jorgen, Frederick and Mado were three of six brothers. The other three did not come to New Zealand. I have been unable to find any relationship between them and Rasmus

Brodersen, father of Henry Iver. Brodersen is a rare surname in New Zealand and translates to 'brother's son' or nephew. It can be traced back to at least 1700, in Jorgen, Frederick and Mado's family, and to at least 1800 in Rasmus's family.

I imagined the elation as the families were reunited. This would have been shortlived however as they struggled to make a living in the Wairarapa. By 1910 Frederick and Maren had added Annie Magdalene Katrine [1885] Frederick Edward [1888] and Oswald [1889], to their family, but had lost Hansine ['Hawine'] in 1889 and then Andrew in 1901. A response to Brodersen surnames picked out of phonebooks located the other Maren, buried at Mauriceville [1895], but not her husband Jorgen.

A prolonged search for Henry Iver Brodersen revealed that Rasmus (37), Maren (43), and their son Henry (8) had arrived on the *Halcione* on 27 July 1872, settling in Mauriceville. 'Wises Directory' further revealed that the family had moved to Shannon around 1891-2.

Aunt Jemima was reluctant to talk about her past and it transpired that there had been some division between the families of Jorgen and Rasmus - instigated it seems, by Henry's rather brutish behaviour. This would explain why the girls grew up without having any contact with one another.

In the course of the search came the chance discovery of the Coroner's Report on the death of the two girls' mother, Annie Magdelene Brodersen, who has no Death Certificate. I was not prepared for the sadness that swept over me as I visualised the harsh, almost primitive lifestyle of my great grandmother at the time of her death.

Annie and Henry were living at a bush camp, about three-quarters of a mile off Kingston Road, Shannon. Henry had been contracted by Smith Brothers to help clear 'McMaster's Bush', and because Annie was an epileptic she usually went with him each day. It seems likely that Henry's mother, Maren, was caring for the girls while Henry and Annie were in the camp, as no mention is made of them in the Report. The inquest revealed that Annie had suffered a seizure only 3 or 4 days prior to her death, and that during a seizure in 1895 she had tumbled into a fire while bathing her baby daughter, Mary Amelia.

On the morning of Thursday, 28 July 1898, Annie insisted that she felt quite well and told Henry that she had been given permission to pluck wool from a dead sheep that was lying on the other side of the camp. Henry's mother had agreed to spin the wool.

Henry reluctantly went into the bush alone but became concerned when Annie did not arrive with his lunch. Tragically, his concern was justified as she was found lying face down in a small pool of water, only five inches deep, and about ten yards from their tent. Henry's lunch had been prepared and the wool had been plucked. Annie's illness, which would now so easily be controlled by medication, and her tragic death were to have everlasting effects on the lives of her children and their extended families.

As Annie's death was unregistered it took some time to find her - in an unmarked grave at Shannon. At this stage I would like to pay a tribute to the various district historical societies and the work that they do. After all other inquiries regarding her husband Henry had proved fruitless, the Horowhenua Historical Society finally located Henry, incorrectly labelled, also at the Shannon Cemetery. He had died on 25 May 1946. His parents, Rasmus (1910) and Maren (1916) were buried at Levin. None of these graves have headstones.

Next began the task of filling in 48 years of Henry's life. The 1914 Electoral Roll described him as a horse-driver of Durham Street, Levin and as sharing the same address with an Amelia Brodersen. In 1919 they were at Rosina, Rongotea, with Henry working as a linesman. In 1938 Henry was retired and living in Andrew Young Street, Palmerston North, with a Clara Brodersen! By 1946 Clara

Brodersen was alone and living at Nathan Terrace, Shannon.

Henry was remarried at Levin on 17 May 1913 to Amelia Johnson, nee Miller, born c1866 in Copenhagen. ['Johnson' may have been her maiden name.] She died on 19 November 1928 at Pahiatua, although they had been living at Marama. In 1935 Henry was again remarried, this time to Clara Trueman, nee Fullford, at Palmerston North. Clara had been born in Sydenham, Kent, England in about 1870 and was the widow of Alfred William Trueman. A number of Clara and Alfred Trueman's descendants still live in the Shannon area. Clara died on 23 November 1956 and was buried at Levin with Alfred Trueman.

It has been heart-rending to see how many young children lost their lives in those pioneering days. In one of these families two children died from diphtheria within days of one another, drawing attention to epidemics which we no longer experience thanks to immunisation programmes. Babies often died soon after birth and I wonder if they would have lived if today's medical expertise had been available to them.

The problems associated with foreign languages also become evident when searching records, including misspelling and Anglicising of names. When we witness the reading problems in our schools today, we can imagine the problems faced by some of the immigrant children of the late 19th century. No specialised help was available for the less-favoured ones in those days!

Yes, I certainly have developed a deeper appreciation of what my ancestors endured - for the sake of descendants they would never know. And so, I would like to dedicate this article to you Grandma, and to you Aunty Mima, to thank you both for the wonderful memories, and with the knowledge that you will not be forgotten.

(Abridged from 'A Branch named Brodersen' - written in 1992 by Margaret M. Lyne, Palmerston North. Margaret pays a special acknowledgment to her "long suffering, but much appreciated husband, Phil", who accompanies her on her research trips, despite not being greatly interested in family history! Also to those not already mentioned who assisted in the unravelling of the Brodersen family history. These include Mrs Ethel Brodersen, Te Puke; Petrea Baker, Queenstown; and Val Burr)

VOLLE CALLESEN and EMMA DEMLER

Volle Callesen was born at Toyt, Schleswig, Denmark, in 1860, the son of Volle Kallesen (sic) and his wife Christina Marie Hende. He emigrated to New Zealand in 1876, but on what ship is unknown. He was joining his brother Hans, who had arrived in 1868 and who had settled at Karere. [see 'Skandia I': 6] Volle worked as a labourer in the area until he married Emma Demler, at her parents' Roberts Line home on 28 October 1882. Emma was the eldest daughter of August and Wilhelmina Dammler, whose surname was later Anglicised to 'Demler'. August Dammler had been born in Breslau, Germany, which is now Wrocław, Poland. The family, including ten year old Emma, had arrived on the *Terpsichore* in 1875. The Dammler/Demler family settled in Roberts Line, on Section 417, Lot 64, one of the former Stoney Creek Scandinavian Block farms.

Volle and Emma lived on a side-road off Jackeytown Road, Tiakitahuna, for a year, on the 28 acre Section 54 of the Karere Rural Block. The local curse of wandering pigs extended to that area also and Volle was obliged to publish trespassing threats in the newspaper. (MT 24/7/1883) Their first child, William, was born there on 16 August 1883.

The Callesens then took up a 240 acre bush-covered farm at Awahou South, in the Pohangina Valley. After clearing the bush and building a home, they eventually milked up to 30 cows. Emma made butter and sold it under the brand-name 'Makohina.' Volle set up a forge and black-

smith's shop on the property and was always in demand in the area, lending a hand and making or repairing things. The neighbours used to feel sorry for Emma, because Volle always seemed to be away helping other people. He was a very hard worker. Emma's butter stamp and Volle's blacksmith's shop, known as the 'Callesen Forge', are now held by the Manawatu Museum.

Despite his time spent away from home, Volle was obviously there occasionally - twelve more children were born to the family at Awahou South:- Ernest [5/11/1884], Walter [19/1/1887], Theresa [7/9/1888], August [26/7/1890], Arthur [2/8/1892], Annie [30/1/1894], Nora [12/4/1895], Francis [31/5/1897-9/6/1897], Frederick [1/9/1899], Oscar [9/3/1901], Mary [30/1/1902-5/2/1902] and finally Emma [1/4/1904]. Sadly, Emma senior died on 4 March 1904, after giving birth to her thirteenth child, also named Emma. She was then aged 38 years. What devastation for Volle. Suddenly he was the sole parent of eleven surviving children, including a new-born baby.



Emma and Volle Callesen and 10 of their 13 children, about March-April, 1901. Emma died after the birth of the 13th child, in 1904. From left they are:- (back row) Ann, William, Walter, Theresa, Ernest and August; (centre row) Emma holding the new-born Oscar, and Volle holding Frederick; (front row) Nora and Arthur. (Eileen Andersen)

The eldest daughter, Theresa, then aged 14 years, took over the role of mother to the large family. She continued to do this until her death from cancer in 1947, aged 58. She did the cooking and sewing for the family and is remembered for her beautiful homemade bread and butter. She never married.

The children recalled the visits of their grandmother after their mother's death. Wilhelmina Hoffmann, formerly Dammler [or Demler], by then a widow again, would drive her horse and gig out from Palmerston North, bringing lollies for the children. This was the only time the children ever had lollies. The three oldest boys were by then working for Hugh Akers at Broadlands Station, on the Saddle Road above Ashhurst. The fourth son, August, joined them as soon as he was old enough.

Shortly after Emma's death, Volle purchased the 106 acre farm of a neighbour, Mr W. Wickens at Awahou South, although the family remained at the original home. (ES 27/4/1904) Volle was naturalised on 6 October 1908, described as a 'German', of Raumai. In 1910 he bought a farm at Raumai, on the other side of the Pohangina River, where the family milked 75 cows. In 1914 the family moved back to Karere, to a 60 acre farm next door to Volle's brother, Hans. In 1918 Volle purchased a 75 acre farm in Pukehou Road, Bulls, where he remained until his death on 17 September 1931.

Volle and Emma are both buried at Ashhurst Cemetery, as is their baby daughter, Mary, who in 1902 had been the second burial at that cemetery.

All but three of the surviving children married, including two sons and a daughter marrying members of the Bowes

family, from Moutoa. After Volle's death Theresa, Fred and Emma, the three unmarried children, remained at the Bulls farm for many years. When she was in her 50s, and after a lifetime at home working on the family farm, Emma moved to Auckland, where she learned to drive and worked at a knitting mill there.

(Contributed by Eileen Andersen, Palmerston North)

THE ROBERTS LINE WELL TRAGEDY 1886

Three and a half years after the marriage of Volle and Emma Callesen came a tragic accident that shocked the Palmerston North community. On 3 February 1886 Emma's father, August Dammler ['Demler'] and a neighbour, Max Bufo, were killed by gas in a well on her family's Roberts Line property. Bufo, born in Schleswig and recalled as a German rather than a Dane, had arrived with his wife, Pauline, on the *Humboldt* in 1875.

Pauline Bufo [pronounced 'Bou-vay', as in 'cow-hay'] was one of the many Prussian migrants to the Manawatu who came from the town of Guben, on the River Neisse. The Potsdam Agreement of 1945 created the River Neisse as the border between Poland and the former East Germany. This left Guben, which straddled the river, with 75% in Poland and 25% in Germany. It is difficult to obtain genealogical information from the town.

Max Bufo (40), who was en route home from town, via the hotel, had insisted on going down August Dammler's new well to check for a seepage of gas which Dammler (50) had detected earlier in the day. Soon after descending into the well, which was then about 35 feet deep, his pipe was seen to go out and he would not respond to calls.

Realising the danger Bufo was in, Dammler got his wife, Wilhelmina, and son, August junior, to lower him down the well on the 'swing-like' seat, connected to the windlass. In his haste, he forgot to tie himself to the seat. Moments after reaching the bottom, and being unable to help Bufo, Dammler realised the danger he was in. He cried "up!", but about two feet from the bottom he fell from the swing. Within a minute or so, he also would have been dead.

A neighbour, Stephen Gedge, quickly arrived in response to Wilhelmina's screams. He had to restrain her from a desperate attempt to go down the well after her dying husband. When it was quickly accepted that August would also be dead, Gedge set about pouring water down the well and raising and lowering a branch rapidly in the well. They were attempting to shift the poisoned air. He had ascertained that the gas had risen to a mere one foot from the surface of the well. When finally the well was safe, another near-neighbour, Franz Hoffmann, was lowered down the well, to retrieve the bodies.

The newspapers followed the tragedy with considerable detail over several days and the community was deeply shocked. Well-digging was a necessary, if dangerous, fact of life, especially in the summer months when streams dried up, or became stagnant and polluted, and especially as the



Wilhelmina Dammler, shortly after the death of her husband, August Dammler, in 1886. She is wearing a little cap, known as a 'widow's peak', which signified the recent death of a husband. (Eileen Andersen)



After years of wondering where it was, Eileen Andersen, great granddaughter of August and Wilhelmina Dammler [Demler], visits the site of August's death for the first time in 1990. The well was gradually filled with rubbish, but revealed itself again by sinking in the middle. On the left is Leo Burr whose father, Sidney Burr, had lived in the former Dammler home around 1900. Leo's step-grandfather, Ola Dahlstrom, had worked with August Dammler on roading contracts, including Vogel Street. In the background is the Roberts Line, McLeavey Drive, Lydia Place intersection. Earthworks have taken place since this photo. (Val Burr)

bush disappeared. Gedge reported that someone had been killed four years earlier while digging the well on his property [formerly a Scandinavian Block farm]. A near-death had also occurred on Otto Tiller's property which was opposite the Gedge farm (q.v.).

The 'Evening Standard' reported that "the funeral of the deceased took place yesterday [5 February 1886] and was one of the largest which has been seen in Palmerston. Nearly all the Germans in Manawatu were present, besides a large number of English and Scandinavian residents. Pastor Gaustad conducted the funeral, which was very impressively given in German and English. It has been determined to erect a monument to the memory of the deceased, with an inscription setting forth the heroic conduct of Dammler, who cheerfully gave up his life in the effort to save that of his neighbour. We are sorry that neither of the deceased had made his Will. Both were deserving settlers, who had struggled hard to make homes for themselves and their sad fate is deeply lamented all over the district."

The large and comparatively crude concrete headstone which stands over their grave at Terrace End Cemetery, bears the following inscription printed in the German language:- "Max Bufo born 27 July 1845. August Dammler born 24 November 1834. Found together in the well. Died through stuffy air on 4 February 1886. Deeply mourned by their surviving widows and orphans. Softly rest your ashes. Donated by your German Comrades."

Pauline Bufo, who had a ten year old daughter, married widower Otto Carl 'Charles' Rosenthal, on 22 June 1886 and soon had two more children. Wilhelmina Demler was left with five children, two of whom were married. On 31 December 1886 she married August Hoffmann, whose brother Franz had rescued the bodies from the well. The Hoffmann brothers had also arrived on the *Terpsichore*. Both widows now had property and would have been good 'catches.' This, combined with the need then to have a man to operate the labour-intensive farms, would help explain their hasty remarriages. The Hoffmann marriage was not very successful. August Hoffman was 14 years younger than his bride. Both new husbands were familiar names in the lists of road works contractors in the district. Charles Rosenthal died in 1893, aged 41, with Pauline herself dying in 1898 aged 48. Both women are buried at Terrace End Cemetery under their new surnames, although only Wilhelmina has a headstone.

(Dammiller family Source: Eileen Andersen, Palmerston North. Bufo family information aided by Olga Zeinert, Palmerston North, whose forebears were from Guben, Prussia, and whose relatives, Herman and Mina Wollerman, nee Zeinert, were the Bufoes' friends and cabin-mates aboard the Humboldt. Specific sources:- 'Evening Standard' 4/2/1886, 5/2/1886, 6/2/1886, Coroner's Report, Death Certificates and Dahlstrom-Burr family history.)

ANDREAS CHRISTIAN VETTE and BOTTILLE CALLESEN

Hans and Volle Callesen, the well-known third and fifth children, and only sons, of Volle Kallesen and Christina Marie (nee) Hende, made their way to New Zealand in 1867 [Ballarat] and 1876 [ship unknown] respectively. However a third member of the Callesen family also made the journey to New Zealand. This was their eldest sister Bottille, with her husband Andreas Vette and their family.

Andreas Christian Vette had been born 6 June 1839, at Nordborg, Schleswig, Denmark. In May 1864 he married Bottille Callesen, born 31 March 1839. They lived at Toyt, Kirkby, Denmark, where their first four children were born:- Frederick (1866), Olaf Jorgen (1868), Andrew Christian (1871) and Marthilda (28/12/1873). The family sailed from Hamburg, Germany on the *St. Lawrence* on 23 May 1874, having contributed £50/5/- toward their fare. The New Zealand Government paid the balance.

After a boat trip from Wellington to Foxton, then a journey aboard the horse-drawn tram to Karere, the family made their home, temporarily, with Bottille's brother, Hans. They stayed there until they took up their own land, part-Section 48 of Plan 43, in the Manchester Block, on what became Dixons Line, Bunnythorpe. This comprised 65 bush-covered acres, at 6/- per acre. They became the second settlers in the Bunnythorpe district, which did not yet have any formed roads.

After making a small clearing in the bush, they built a whare where the family could live while Andreas cleared the rest of the property. After they arrived there another daughter, Ida, was added to the family in 1877. Andreas was naturalised on 29 May 1879.

The turning point in the family's history came suddenly - on Wednesday, 24 September 1879 - with the accidental death of Andreas. The published information reveals some of the help Bottille received. This would have been fairly typical of what was given to most hardworking families in distress.

Andreas (40) left the whare at about 8:00 am on the fateful day. By late morning he was chopping a large rimu tree, about 18 inches in diameter. Although he intended it to fall toward the standing bush, he was not an experienced bushman. At about 12:00 mid-day, Bottille, who was at their whare about 6 chain away, called out to him to come home for dinner. Almost immediately after his acknowledgement, she heard a tree fall. She noticed that the wind had come up sharply and thought that the tree had fallen very quickly. Concerned at his non-appearance after a reasonable time, Bottille sent the children into the bush to look for their father, however, they could not find him.

At about 12:30 pm Joachim Burmeister, another Bunnythorpe settler, arrived at the Vette home. He found Bottille becoming increasingly anxious as to why Andreas had not arrived home for his dinner. Burmeister offered to go looking for him and soon found him - lying dead on the ground with a dry tree, about 9 inches in diameter, lying across his head. Burmeister was apparently anxious about conveying the sad news to Bottille. He went to the neighbouring home of Johannes Monrad and asked him to go to her - but Bottille had already seen what she had assumed to be Burmeister, lifting a branch in the distance.

The resulting Coroner's Inquest [the jury of which included Hans and Volle Callesen, Viggo Monrad as Foreman, and other well-known names] heard that Andreas had apparently responded to his call for dinner by striking his axe into a nearby stump and preparing to go home. Suddenly the tree he was chopping fell in the opposite direction to what he had intended, catching a dead sapling on the way down. This in turn fell across Andreas' face, knocking him onto his back. His head had been caught between the rimu and the dead sapling. Doctor Marriner considered that death would probably have been instantaneous. (MT 24/9/1879, 1/10/1879)

Because there was no cemetery in Bunnythorpe and because of some flooding in the area, Andreas came to be buried in the corner of the Vette farm at Bunnythorpe, where he remains.

The community was quick to rally around the bereft family of this "most hardworking and industrious man." All their savings had been spent on their house, while only the interest had been paid on the money loaned to buy the land. With the loss of Andreas, the family found themselves totally unprovided for.

The 'Manawatu Times' also came to their support, starting the subscription process with an announcement that they had received a donation of £3/3/- for the family. They were happy to pass on any other money the community might care to donate. (MT 27/9/1879, 1/10/1879) The 'Times' recalled another woman who had been in the same situation "some years ago" and noted that she was "now fairly well off." This was almost certainly Emma Aldridge whose husband, William, had been killed in similar circumstances in Palmerston North, on 18 December 1875, when she was eight months pregnant. After assistance from the community, she, her six daughters and baby son, had coped well enough for her to eventually own a boarding house in Rangitikei Street.

Amongst the fundraising activities organised to support Bottille and her five children was a concert held on Tuesday 4 November. This was organised by the Workingmen's Dramatic Club, and was heralded as a "great success." Bottille later publicly thanked the Club for the £12/2/6 they had raised for the family at the concert. (MT 8/10/1879; 18/10/1879, 1/11/1879, 5/11/1879, 8/11/1879, 29/11/1879)

Bottille had to manage as best she could, although two brothers also settled in the district must have made her lot easier to bear. As a widow, she remained extremely vulnerable. Her sixth child, Polly Amelia, ['Amelia'] was born at Bunnythorpe on 4 September 1881.

Although he had only been about 14 at the time, the oldest son, Fred, had become the principle supporter of the family following his father's death. Thus, in 1885, the family again came under pressure when Fred was badly injured and sent to Wanganui Hospital. He was then employed on a roading contract and, while shifting horses, the one he was riding fell on him, breaking his leg in three places. (ES 20/3/1885, 21/3/1885)

Bottille worked hard to provide for her family. She made butter and sold it for 4d per pound, walking many miles to the local store to trade it for other foods. She also made blankets and clothing by spinning wool on a hand spool, and crocheting it on a long-needed hook. This is now called 'tricot knitting.' She also nursed around the district. Jack Hawes, who later lived and worked on the farm, and who eventually married Amelia, recalled Bottille as a fine pioneer lady, small, with curly black hair - and very hard working.

In 1888 Bottille married George Stead and moved to Kimbolton. The marriage did not last and it is not known what became of Stead. Bottille continued to live at Kimbolton, with her son, Fred. She died 16 January 1912 and was buried at the Kimbolton Cemetery.

All the Vette children married except Fred. Jorgen lived at Taihape, while Andrew became a Railway Inspector and

Construction Engineer on bridges and viaducts. Marthilda, Ida and Amelia married T.H. Summers, W. Beard and Jack Hawes respectively.

The remaining three Callesen siblings, who did not come to New Zealand, were Anna, who married (a) Captain Hans Rus, (b) Mr Brodersen, and remained in Denmark; Maren, Mrs Jacob Jacobsen; and Christina Marie, Mrs Frederick Jensen, both of whom emigrated to the U.S.A. with their husbands.

(Callesen family source: Eileen Andersen, Palmerston North. Aldridge family material:- MT 4/10/1879; 'Weekly Herald,' Wanganui, 6/1/1876; Coroner's Inquest Report; and Aldridge family records, - Beryl Brocklebank, Palmerston North [also 'Skandia I': 46-7]. Also birth certificate of Amelia Vette, 1881)

ANDREW ENG and MARTHA MATILDA BONESS

Andreas Eng, later known as Andrew, was born in Norway about 1849. Little is known of his family, other than that he was possibly from the Christiania [Oslo] area and from a family mainly of boys, although one sister was named Kjestine. One brother became an engineer and went to Belgium. During the First World War the family lost touch with him, and it was assumed that he and his family had been killed. The surname 'Eng' appears to be unique in New Zealand. It may indicate the Norwegian place of origin. Relatives who visited Oslo once checked the phonebook and found pages of them. Andrew told his granddaughter, Nolene Deihl, that if he had stayed in Norway, his surname would have been 'Andreas' [or 'Andreason'?].

Andrew, as 'Andreas Eng', arrived at Wellington on the *Shakespear* on 23 January 1876, described as a Danish farm labourer. He may have lived in Denmark for a time. The passengers on this voyage suffered an outbreak of yellow fever, and time in quarantine. His next appearance was in Sanson where he was a baker. It was during this time that he met his future wife, Martha Matilda 'Tilly' Boness, whose family had settled between Awahuri and Feilding, and after whom Boness Line is named.

Tilly and her father had emigrated from Sussex, England, about 1873, when Tilly was twelve years old. She was an only child and her mother had died about two years earlier. Two pairs of maiden aunts, on both sides of her family, wanted to raise her, but her father decided to take her to New Zealand. They had relations in Nelson, where they first went. Prior to his daughter's marriage Mr Boness married a widow with one son. That couple then had about four more daughters.

After Andrew and Tilly were married at Feilding in 1878 [on 28 March or 1 April], they lived in the upper floor of his bakery shop in the main street of the town. Andrew was aged about 29 and Martha about 17. The building they lived in was demolished in recent years. Their first child, Lilian Florence 'Lily', was born there at the end of 1878.

From Sanson the family moved to Palmerston North, where Andrew opened the third bakery in the town in July 1880. It was situated in the Square. At around this time the Printing Office of the 'Manawatu Evening Standard' [established November 1880] was located above the Engs' shop. Apparently Tilly lived in fear of a day when the printing press might come through the ceiling. (Petersen 1973: 150)

They were living upstairs somewhere in Coleman Place when their second child, Gunda Alice Rose, known as 'Alice', was born on 11 June 1881. A very good friend of the family was Thomas Tozer Kerslake, an English tailor who settled in Palmerston North in 1880 and opened a tailoring business. ('Cycl. of N.Z.', Vol. 1: 1190) Mr Kerslake, then a bachelor, wanted Alice to be named 'Rosie', not just 'Rose', as the name had some significance to him. He promised to buy her a silk dress if they used this name, but this bribe did not meet with success.

Andrew's bakery business was not without its more spectacular incidents - not involving printing presses, but

in relation to its equine employees. On the first occasion the bakery cart was proceeding down Rangitikei Street, a number of loose horses came rushing along, startling the horse. The cart, which was a particularly attractive and ornamental one, was badly damaged in the ensuing shambles. A few weeks later the horse had a change of heart while 'parked' in Broad Street and bolted, cart and all, back to Rangitikei Street and into Cuba Street. There it stopped at the back entrance to the bakery and waited to be caught. Fortunately there was no damage this time. Several months later the cart overturned in Church Street, jamming the driver underneath while the horse lay thrashing about on the road. Again there was no serious injury once all was right-side-up. However, the cart required work and was sent to the wheelwright for repairs. Unfortunately someone forgot to secure both wheels. Sure enough, one fell off! The driver managed to keep hold of the reins and restrain the startled horse, which was probably rather paranoid by that time - a sentiment by now being shared by the 'Times' Editor.

Accidents involving horses were commonplace in those times and certainly in the pages of the 'Manawatu Times', but such a continuous string of accidents to one company, and presumably to the same horse, was regarded as a little unique. In August 1881 yet another mishap occurred when an unnamed baker's cart, no doubt Andrew's, was reported as having tipped over for the 13th time in about as many weeks, which estimate was probably figurative rather than literal. It had been carting sawdust, which could have been used to fuel the ovens. The horse was described as "high-bred", which may explain a lot! (MT 17/7/1880, 8/12/1880, 29/1/1881, 16/4/1881, 20/4/1881, 17/8/1881)

In January 1883 Andrew advertised that he had greatly enlarged his premises. He had added refreshment rooms to the business, which was still located in the Square, in or near Coleman Place. However these extensions may have financially strained the business as a week later it was sold to Mr J.F. Heaton, another baker and confectioner in the town. (MT 18/1/1883, 25/1/1883)

In the 1882 Freeholder's List, Andrew owned property in the Borough of Palmerston North valued at £320 and in the Manawatu County valued at £120. The Palmerston North land [1883-4, Section 305, Allotment's 31 and 35] included a house - presumably the family home. This land was on the corner of Bourke and Cuba Streets and thus very close to the rear of the bakery. Frits Jenssen, of Richter, Nannestad & Co., paid the rates on the most probable site of the bakery, in Coleman Place.

These times were tough for many and it was hard for food suppliers to turn away the hungry and impoverished. Some people are recalled as having run up bills of £100 at the bakery and as a consequence of those bills which went unpaid, some of Andrew's did also, including his rates. It was thought that he was declared bankrupt at some point during the 1880s, although this is not recorded in the Bankruptcy Index nor the papers of the day. Nolene feels her grandfather would have gradually cleared his debts. Certainly he did not forget those who led him into his dire straits. Over the following months these were paraded through the local Magistrate's Court, including Lorrigan [£1/1/11], Bradley [£2/1/11] and Hadfield [£5/19/3]. (MT 19/7/1883, 17/8/1883)

Andrew's creditors took similar action, including the Palmerston Brewery [£6] and the 'Manawatu Times' [£3 for advertising]. (MT 17/1/1884; 17/7/1884)

The family, which by now included their third child Ethel May [b 23/9/1882], then moved to Colyton. Andrew had purchased a small property on Taonui Road and there he built a cottage. This now derelict cottage is still standing [on a 21 acre block], alongside Mr J.B. Thomas' stockyards. From here Andrew sought employment on various road and bridge works. He counted among his good friends members of the Nannestad, Ronberg and Monrad families.

During the time the family lived at Colyton, Andrew frequently worked away from home. One day, one of the cottage's three chimneys caught fire, and while Tilly was able to scale the steep roof to extinguish the fire, she was unable to get down again. She had to send one of the children to fetch a neighbour to help her. Alice could remember playing at the Colyton house as a small child. One time she found three 'half-crowns' [= .75c] in a stream which ran through a culvert under the road, near their house. She thought that a stock-drover must have dropped them while lying down to get a drink. When she took them home to her mother, Tilly gratefully said that they would use the money to buy material to make dresses for the family.



The old Eng cottage in Taonui Road, Colyton, in early 1993. Although it is now partially demolished and minus its three original chimneys, the removal of its iron roof has exposed its shingle roof, returning some of its original character. Visualise Tilly Eng stranded on the steep roof after the chimney fire and sending her young children to find help. Later tenants described the house as very warm, contrary to its present predicament. (Val Burr)

The family grew up with little obvious Norwegian influence. Alice could count in the language and their great enthusiasm for salt was also said to have been a Norwegian tradition - salt having been used as a preservative. One of the children even put salt on bacon!

While living at Colyton, Winifred Kjestina 'Wini' [1884] and George Andrew [1890] were added to the family. On 1 October 1890, Andrew [as 'Andreas'] was naturalised, stating he was 42 years old and a farmer of Feilding, although this probably meant the Colyton property.

Nolene, Alice's daughter, was not sure what work Andrew did while at Colyton, but knew that he worked on twin road bridges around that time which were in the high country near the Ruahine Ranges in the Kawhatau area.

Andrew became the first Chairman of the Colyton School, then called Mangaoni School, when it opened in 1884. At the 1984 Centenary, Winifred, then aged 100 and on the verge of blindness, travelled up from Timaru to become one of those who cut the cake. She died in 1990, six weeks short of her 106th birthday, having been alert to the end.

From Colyton the family moved to Silverhope. Elida Bernice was born in Colyton in 1893, although the birth was registered at Hunterville. Andrew must have been working on the roads during this time. Little has been handed down about the years spent at Silverhope, although Nolene recalls that her mother talked of the family walking along the railway lines to go shopping in Rata, as the road was in such poor condition. During this time Alice and Ethel worked at the Marshall family's homestead at Tutaenui, Alice as cook and Ethel as housemaid. They were paid 5/- per week each. These were the only jobs the girls had prior to their marriages. During this time Alice met her future husband, Thomas Palmer, an Englishman. They were married in Rangiwahia in 1902.

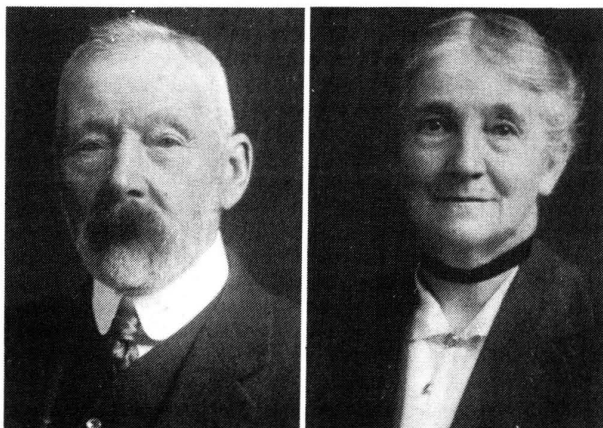
By 1898, Andrew was involved with sawmilling. The 'Feilding Star' of 19 November 1898 recorded that "Mr A. Eng of the Rangiwahia Sawmill had the thumb of his left hand very badly cut by the machinery while working his mill yesterday morning." Nolene understood that he was missing a finger rather than a thumb; also that until this accident he had enjoyed playing the concertina, which he was unable to do after the accident.

Thomas Palmer had come to New Zealand with his family when he was four years old. His father, George Palmer, had served in the Crimean War including participating in the tragic 'Charge of the Light Brigade' at Balaklava [1854], in which 40% of the Force was lost. He had also been present during the Indian Mutiny [1857-8] and had medals for both actions. In New Zealand he led a quieter life, working on the railways between Palmerston North and Wanganui, while settling at Bunnythorpe.

Tilly was expecting the last of her children at the time of the move to Rangiwahia. She was probably in Kimbolton, at the home of Lily, who was now married to Alan Bartlett. The last child, Allan Kasper, was registered at Birmingham [now Kimbolton] in 1900. Alice, Ethel and Wini had taken care of their father at the new house. After the move Alice and Ethel stayed home helping their mother with the baby, while Wini worked for a second Marshall family at Rangiwahia.

During the family's time in Rangiwahia, Andrew jointly owned a sawmill with a Mr F. Goodbehere, under the partnership 'Goodbehere & Eng'. Goodbehere supplied the finance, and worked at the mill, while Andrew had the knowledge. This mill, the 'Pukerimu Sawmill', was near Karewarewa, about four kilometres from Rangiwahia. In early 1900 Goodbehere & Eng had bought the sawmilling plant from J. Corpe of Beaconsfield and had erected it on leased land at "a bend of 'Ruahine Road', just below Mr Jackson's house," or more precisely, on Section 24 of Block XVI, of the Hautapu subdivision. (FS 16/1/1900, 5/4/1900, AJHR 1905 C-6: 24) The title 'Pukerimu' derived from the actual location. It supplied the timber for housing needs in Rangiwahia, as well as other towns on the rail network. It mainly cut rimu and matai, with a little white pine and totara. In 1905 it employed 13 hands, including Nolene's father, Thomas Palmer, who worked as the benchman at the mill, while his brother George was a bushman there. Nolene was born at Karewarewa in 1906.

The timber had to be carted about seven miles to the Mangaweka Railway Station, along what was obviously a dangerous road. The 'Feilding Star' recorded on 23 January 1901 that a few days earlier a timber wagon from the mill had gone over the cliff on the 'Ruahine-Mangaweka Road' "at a dangerous place between Fraser's Creek Bridge and Sixtus's property." While the driver had escaped unharmful, one horse was killed and another later had to be put down. Nolene understands that the driver had been drinking and had fallen asleep at the reins. Unfortunately



Andrew and Tilly Eng. (Nolene Deihl)

at this bend in the road, instead of turning, the horses had gone straight ahead over the cliff and down into the river. The two draught horses were worth about £50 each. On 9 March 1902 the mill burnt down, despite the efforts of its workers. Valued at £1,000, it was insured for only £300. (DA 13/3/1902) It was soon rebuilt.

In 1905 the Pukerimu Mill had a 16 hp engine and a cutting capacity of 1,200,000 superficial feet per annum, although it was then only putting out 650,000 s/ft per annum, with about two years of cutting left. Similar figures were again recorded at the next Government survey when the mill was nearly finished. (AJHR 1905 C-6: 24; 1907, C-4: 25)

On 18 July 1906 Ethel Eng, of the Pukerimu Sawmill, married Charles Bartlett, of Silverhope, at St. Barnabas Church, Rangiwhia. He was the brother of Lily's husband.

When Nolene was about three, the sawmill closed as the bush was cut out. It was then moved to Manui, about four kilometres from Mangaweka. At about the same time [1908-9] the Eng family also moved to Mangaweka, to a house which is still standing, near the Mangaweka Hall. Nolene does not think this mill operated for long, as there were delays in obtaining access to the bush. The mill was sold and Walter Clemence later operated it.

Clearly Andrew had a variety of skills and a particular talent in engineering. In 1910 he registered the 'Eng Automatic Milk Agitator & Cooler Company Ltd.' (NA: CO-W, W3445 1910/58). Wise's Directory in 1912 includes the entry:- "Eng Patent Automatic Milk Cleaner and Stirrer Company - A.H. Gascoigne, Secretary," of Mangaweka. Gascoigne was a lawyer. Andrew had patented this invention, which was a fore-runner of the agitator system now used in milk vats. He possibly had some link with either the Rangiwhia Cheese factory, or with his son George, who was a buttermaker at the Taihape Dairy Factory at Utiku. Unfortunately, the invention did not take off.

The family lived in its first Mangaweka house until about 1916, when they moved into a larger two-storied house, although by then only Allan was still at home. After the sawmill closed, Andrew worked on the first power station in the Mangaweka area, which opened in 1913. This station enabled Mangaweka to become one of the first small country towns to have electricity. In 1917 Andrew enrolled on the Alien Register, describing himself as a 67 year old labourer of Kimbolton, although Nolene is sure they never lived there during her lifetime. At about this time Andrew helped his son-in-law, Thomas Palmer to shift a house from Apiti to the farm Thomas had just bought at Rangiwhia - the 'new' house replacing an old slab 'house'. This was moved in sections by Mr Noble, one of Mangaweka's first carriers to have a lorry.

Andrew died in his sleep on 19 September 1925, two weeks after coming home from hospital following an abdominal operation. He was aged 76 years. At the time of his death he had almost perfected a machine for wrapping pounds of butter, very much like the machines in use now. The family still wonders if the Eng machine was a forebear of these later butter wrapping machines.

Tilly was persuaded to sell the home and live alternately with family members. This lack of her own personal space eventually got her down. She took a room at a boarding house in Palmerston North, where she kept her room furnished with her own belongings. She still stayed with family members, but took 'time out' when it suited her. Later she lived with Lily at Foxton, then with Ethel in Seabury Avenue, Foxton Beach. It was at Seabury Avenue that she died on 13 March 1953 aged 92 years. Tilly and Andrew are buried together at Mangaweka Cemetery.

(Family Source:- Nolene Deihl, Palmerston North; also birth certificates of G.A.R. & E. Eng)

HEMMING CHRISTIAN JENSEN and METTA KJERSTINE HANSEN

Hemming Christian Jensen was born on the Island of Mon, Denmark in 1841. He claimed to have been a waif from a shipwreck who was adopted by the Jensens, although the authenticity of that story is uncertain. Nothing else is now known of his family background. His grandson, Owen Jensen, recalls a family story, that Mon was close enough to Sweden that during the winter when the ocean in the vicinity froze over, people could walk across it to Sweden. Possibly this description incorporated some 'island hopping'.

Hemming joined the Danish Navy and there he gained his training as a blacksmith [engineer], apparently in the engine rooms of early steamships. He is known to have been amongst the crew of the Naval vessel which escorted the Danish Princess Alexandra across to England, where she was to be married to the future King Edward VII on 10 March 1863.

He also saw Naval service during the Danish-Prussian War of 1864. The Naval ship he served on was an iron-clad steamship; a battle tactic performed by this ship was to heat cannonballs until they were red hot, and then to convey them - with great haste - into the ship's cannon. They were then fired into the wooden-hulled Prussian ships. The combination of the red-hot cannonballs and the wooden ships saw the latter bursting into flames. He spoke of the damage un-fired cannonballs could do, if permitted to roll around the decks of ships. If a man put his leg out to try and stop one rolling, the weight was known to snap leg bones. This often led to amputations if infection set in.

On his discharge from the Navy, Hemming received a testimonial from his Commanding Officer. Also, at some point during his Naval career, Hemming performed a deed which saw him awarded 'Honours Money,' ['Honnorpenge'] which was paid by the Danish Crown. This was a form of pension at a time when pensions were rarely available, and were only given to individuals who had distinguished themselves in some way. Thus it was a great 'honour' to receive such a pension. (letter: 29/1/1993, Danes Worldwide Archives to VAB) At the time of Hemming's death in 1922 he was understood to have been one of only three men around the world who were still receiving this special pension.

In 1865 he married Metta Kjerstine Hansen, born in 1843. She was probably born in the village of Sprove, in Damsholte parish, on the island of Mon, where the couple's first five children were born:- Jens 'Peter' [1866], Caroline Marie Elizabeth 'Lizzie' [1867], Neils Christian [1869], Laura Ingeborg [1872] and Martin 'Julius' [1874]. Clearly Metta had other siblings as two brothers, Fred and Peter Hansen, also came to New Zealand at some time and lived at Pongaroa.

Having been in the thick of fighting during the Prussian invasion, Hemming had no taste for living near his former foes. He applied to emigrate to New Zealand or America and the opportunity to depart for New Zealand came up first. Hemming (33), Metta (31) and their five children, then aged 8, 6, 4, 2 and their baby son, were amongst the group from Mon, who began their journey from Stege. The Danish newspaper 'Vordingborg Avis' ['Vordingborg Daily News'], reported on 8 October 1874 that the departure of the 60 families from the city of Stege, on Mon, was a happy occasion with bands playing. However the reporter could not help thinking of the dangers facing the women and children as they sailed off into the unknown. They were transported on the ferry *Zampa* to Copenhagen, then by the Baltic ferry *Halland* to Lubeck, Germany. From there they made a 60 km train journey to Hamburg, where they boarded the *Humboldt* for New Zealand. The *Humboldt* sailed on 10 October 1874. (ref: Sigvertsen manuscript)

Hemming's Naval career meant that he knew what conditions at sea would be like. As a precaution he purchased

a barrel of ship's biscuits before boarding - to be kept in reserve, in case the ship's provisions proved insufficient. He also obtained a job in the *Humboldt's* galley. The couple later said they thought Laura and the baby might not have survived the voyage without the extra food they were able to provide. Another Jensen family who were also on board, that of Knud and Karen Jensen later of James Line, Palmerston North, described the scarcity of food, water, and also the weevil-infested biscuits during this voyage. (Skandia I: 29) Possibly some of these complaints were typical of long distance voyages.

Eight year old Peter found an amusement on the ship, albeit one that his parents would hardly have approved. He made little paper boats and, as the swell surged past the side of the ship, he leaned out and PLACED the paper boats onto the water, which then swept them away. Another playful child was less fortunate. He fell overboard and was swept away to his death. Ten other people, one adult and nine young children, also died during the voyage.

On board with the family was Metta's spinning wheel, and also a fairly cheap and crudely-made chest of four drawers. This was sawn through horizontally at the 'half-way' point, and a false 'top' and 'bottom' added as appropriate, to the sawn-through portions. This enabled it to be brought through the narrow doors on the ship and into their cabin, where it was reconstituted, for use during the voyage. Once safely in New Zealand four crude metal straps were tacked onto the sides to secure it together again. It survives today, if somewhat the worse for its age.

The *Humboldt* arrived in Wellington on 28 January 1875, and its passengers went to Wairarapa, Manawatu, Rangitikei and Taranaki. The Jensen family were placed on a coastal steamer bound for Wanganui. From there they were taken by horseback to Marton where Hemming worked for Sam Ingram as a blacksmith in his 'Smithy'. He also worked in sawmills as an 'engine driver' in the Marton area at some point, his job being to operate the stationary steam engines at these mills.

In 1877 the family moved to Halcombe, where Hemming worked for the "Manchester Corporation" [Emigrants & Colonists Aid Corporation, which developed the Manchester Block], until he acquired what became the family farm on Stanway Road, at Stanway. The little cottage Hemming built there survived until about 1970. The couple had four more children in New Zealand: Harry [1878], Nora Ida 'Ada' [1881], Alfred Herbert [1882] and Arthur William [1886]. All, except Julius, married and had families.

Hemming established a blacksmith's shop on the Stanway property and this building also survived until recent years. Hemming was naturalised at Stanway on 21 May 1885. Peter, described as a 21 year old settler of Halcombe, was naturalised on 1 September 1887.

In addition to the usual work of a blacksmith, Hemming also invented the 'Jensen Stump Jack,' a lever-operated

stumping jack, which was patented in 1896. (Patent No. 8177, 'NZ Gazette 23/1/1896: 145) This larger version of an old-style car jack was secured to the tree stump. The stump was then levered up by way of a series of hand-cut notches on the jack. About 400 of these were made, probably in the Stanway workshop, and several are still in the family and in working order - although now only likely to jack up the occasional car.

Hemming had an interest in muzzle-loading guns which he used for sport. He also repaired guns of this type in the line of his work. One time a man came in wanting the spring on his shotgun fixed immediately, and was most upset when this could not be done. It turned out he wanted to learn the special method by which Hemming tempered the metal needed for the spring. By the time he returned later the same day, the job had been completed and he departed none the wiser.

Hemming was content with his decision to emigrate and had no interest in returning to Denmark. He said that he had left it when it was in a bad way and that his "little niche would have been filled".

When the family arrived in New Zealand they were unable to speak any English. Hemming gradually learned the language in the course of his employment, although the first English words he learnt were understood to have been swear words! Metta never did learn the language. There was a significant Danish community in the Halcombe-Stanway area and, as often happens in immigrant situations, it is the men who have the main need to communicate with 'outsiders', especially their employers and workmates. The couple's children grew up with the Danish language and conversed comfortably in it. Neils' son Owen recalls that the couple's grandchildren could not talk with their grandmother. This must have been awkward for all concerned and especially sad for Metta.

As the time came for the children to marry, an interesting situation developed. Two of the brothers, Peter and Neils, married two Toms sisters, while two sisters, Laura and Ada, married two Cockburn brothers. Peter, Neils and Julius eventually moved to the Kimbolton area and were involved in sawmilling and farming. Later one of Neils' sons and two of Jens' sons married three sisters from the Malcolm family of Apiti, while a son and a daughter of Neils married a sister and brother from the Ritchie family.

Neils married Leah Charlotte Toms of Greatford in 1895 and settled in the Kimbolton area. There they developed a farm from bush and swamp country on Valley Road. This was named 'Sprove' after Neils' birthplace. The name also appeared regularly for many years on the farm's woolpacks. He was very involved in community activities and rural businesses, being a director of the Cheltenham Dairy Co-op and of the New Zealand Wool Marketing Board. He was also a very keen gardener. (Waugh: 114)

Laura married James 'Malcolm' Cockburn of Porewa in July 1902 and the couple had two children. Malcolm died in 1917, and then in the course of the huge Raetihi Fire of 18-19 March 1918 their home was burnt down. Laura and her children then moved back to the Stanway farm and remained there until after Metta and Hemming's deaths. Metta suffered from diabetes for some time and she died at Stanway on 5 October 1919, aged 75. After a short illness Hemming died there also, on 7 August 1922, aged 81. They are buried together at Halcombe Cemetery, along with their son, Julius, who died in 1965. Also buried at Halcombe is their daughter-in-law, Martha Jensen, nee Voss, the first wife of Harry. She had died on 18 September 1909, aged 29 years, being survived by a baby son, Claude.

Family source:- Mary and Owen Jensen, Feilding, also Ian Jensen, Awahuri. Specific Bibliography:- (1) Dunlop, J.R., - *The Genealogy of Hemming Christian Jensen [1841 - 1922] and Metta Kjerstine Hansen [1843-1919]* (A booklet prepared in 1973 for the 100th Anniversary and Reunion of the family's arrival in New Zealand in 1874.); (2) *Humboldt story* supplemented by unpublished manuscript of Ray Sigvertsen's 'And They Went Forth...: A Saga of Two Zealand's', (due for publication 1993-4).



Hemming Christian Jensen's Blacksmith's shop on Stanway Road, Stanway, around the turn of the century. From left are: the Jensens' neighbour on the horse, Hemming and his son Alf. (Owen and Mary Jensen)

RASMUS PETER JENSEN and AGNES AMELIA DUNN

Rasmus Peder Jensen was born at village of Viby, near Odense, Denmark, on 30 July 1866. He was the only son of Jens Rasmussen (1825-1887) and his wife Boline Dorthe, nee Andersen (1825-1881). Both parents lived out their lives in Viby. He had three older sisters, Johanne [1853], Dorthe [1858] and Petra Hansine [1861]. It is understood that Petra married and went to America; however he was still writing to the other two sisters in Denmark many years later. The family understands that Rasmus went to an Agricultural College in Denmark and that his father had a pedigree dairy herd. Why Rasmus chose New Zealand as his future home is unknown. He always wanted to return to Denmark for a visit, but was unable to do so.

The journey to New Zealand took Rasmus to London and then into the steerage quarters of the *Kaikoura*. To while away the days at sea, he studied English by comparing the English and Danish versions of the Bible. He had contracted to travel to Napier and presumably went there following the ship's arrival in Wellington on 30 December 1890.

It appears that he moved on to Pahiatua fairly soon after arrival, working for the next several years as a labourer and as a grocer. He travelled around with his horse and dray, delivering goods to people in Pahiatua and the outlying areas. By 1894 he was contracting on the roads in the Pahiatua area and he is known to have worked on Wakeman Street.

On 17 January 1894 he married Agnes Amelia Dunn (23), of Mangatainoka, at the Pahiatua Salvation Army Barracks. The eldest daughter of Mr and Mrs George Dunn's eight children, she had been born in Victoria, Australia. Her family were members of the Salvation Army Church, and she and her twin sister, Amy, had entered the training college in Australia to become Salvation Army officers. The Jensen family were all members of the Salvation Army, Rasmus and Agnes being soldiers of the Palmerston North Salvation Army Corps until their deaths. The connection with the Salvation Army is maintained to this day through some of the couple's great grandchildren.

The couple lived in Wakeman Street, Pahiatua, in one of five homes he built in that street. While living there Rasmus was naturalised on 12 December 1894. Their seven children were born there also:- Herbert Rasmus 'Herb' [1895], Gertrude Evelyn [1896], Harold William [1898], Charles Henry 'Charlie' [1901], the twins George Clarence and Alfred Peter 'Alf' [1902], and Ernest Christian 'Ernie' [1903].

Rasmus was involved in the latter stages of the construction of the Pahiatua Track, which followed an ancient Maori track over the ridges and spurs of the Tararua Ranges. Early Pakeha settlers understood there was a 'low saddle' in the Tararua Ranges opposite Palmerston North, although obviously it was not used by them. It was not until September 1879 that a few members of Frank Knowles' survey party, who were working on a 12,000 acre Block on the Fitzherbert [Aokautere] side of the river, decided to explore the route. After crossing the 'low saddle' they found they could see the Wairarapa plains with no intervening high land. Under the heading "A Grand Discovery," the 'Manawatu Times' (24/9/1879) enthused over the prospect of a new means of access to the little town.

By 1889 the route consisted of 8.73 miles of 'temporary pack-track' and also 11 chain of formed and metalled 'cart road' at the Pahiatua end. At this stage it was officially referred to as the 'Palmerston-Pahiatua Road'.

The road was developed both to provide direct access to Palmerston North and also to allow the opening up of about 7,000 acres of Crown Lands. This was to be put up for sale in 1889, as a 'special settlement block.' The road came within the Pahiatua and Fitzherbert Road Districts and the Government also contributed funds. Around 1890 a



Although this photograph is of road-making in the Pohangina Valley in the 1900s, possibly Takapari Road, similar scenes would have occurred with Rasmus Jensen's contracts in the Pahiatua Track area. Possibly these teams of horses belonged to George Port who metalled roads in the area, and whose family had the original. (Palmerston North Public Library)

Mr J.F. Frith surveyed the road and also prepared the plans and specifications for the construction work. Five miles of bush felling at a width of 66 feet had to be done, with 33 feet of this having to be cleared away. A further four miles of 6 foot wide 'horse road' on the "permanent grades" was required, as well as two bridges, 200 feet of culverts and 20 chains of formation in "scattered portions."

The work, which was done by 'day labour' under the overseer Mr William Campbell, was completed in early October 1892. It then comprised nine miles of 6 foot wide 'horse road' which connected with the 'dray roads' in the Mangahao and Manawatu valleys. A tollgate was also to be installed about mid-way across to catch the through-traffic, to cover repairs to the road. Bridges were completed over the Mangatainoka and Mangahao rivers in 1895 and 1896 respectively. (AJHR: 1889 C-1A: 23; 1890 C-5: 11; 1892 C-1: 50,76; 1893 C-1: 54; McCallum, 1988: 62,89,90,113,133,209.)

In 1895 the Lower Gorge Bridge at Ashhurst was washed away in a flood, placing extreme pressure on the Pahiatua Track as a stock route. The dramatic increase in sheep traffic which followed, and the surface damage they caused, resulted in the installation of a tollgate at the junction with Makomako Road in 1900. The Government contributed considerable sums of money towards work on the road, especially between 1901 and 1903. (AJHR 1898, 1901-1907, B-7A)

In November 1902 a settler, Mr W. Welch, wrote to the Kairanga County Council, calling their attention to the state of the road between Section 303 and the portion of the road which had been made by the Government. The Council sought assistance from the Pahiatua County Council to obtain a loan for the work. Apparently agreement was reached. The Pahiatua County Council later agreed to assist with work on Range Road. In April 1903 Welch led a deputation of settlers who lived on the Pahiatua Track, to ask the Kairanga County Council to widen and metal a portion of their road. The Council agreed to keep it in mind! (K.C.C. Minutes of 11/11/1902, 16/12/1902, 21/4/1903)

Rasmus was certainly working as a contractor on the Pahiatua Track by the early 1900s. His son George recalls that he owned and operated 6 teams of horses on the job at that time. These horse teams consisted of 2 or 3 horses per tip-dray. He also employed the necessary labour for the task and these workmen stayed in a tent camp set up at appropriate places on the Track. Lunch was also eaten on the job, in the shade of a convenient bank they might be excavating. One time, when the party was seated under a bank they were working on, Rasmus was seriously injured

by a boulder which rolled down and him on his head. Fortunately he made a good recovery.

Kairanga County Council remembered their promise to Welch and his companions as, between March 1904 and January 1905, Rasmus was contracted to widen, trim and metal 1,122 yards of the Council's portion of the Track, for £126. From there he moved on to form and metal 1,485 yards of South Range Road, for £352. This work was completed by April 1905. Between March and June 1905 he formed and metalled what were then Donald's, Fowler's, Fabrian's, White's and Ruff's Roads, none of which are apparently now known by these names. This contract was worth £226. Between June 1905 and October 1906 he did more excavation and metalling on the Pahiatua Track, the 396 yards concerned earning him £87. Between January and October 1906 he also did filling and metalling on the approaches to what was then called Sutherland's Bridge, for £19.

Much ongoing work was required as a result of stock using the road. During 1902 100,000 sheep and 20,000 cattle travelled the route, with the first car crossing in 1905. (Fitzherbert East-Aokautere: 13) The Ashhurst Bridge was not rebuilt until 1909.

After he had subdivided Wakeman Street, Pahiatua, Rasmus needed more ground to run his 20 or so work-horses. His contract work was also keeping both the men and the horses away from the town for long periods. As a result, in 1905, he purchased about 240 acres of partly bush-covered land at the top of the Pahiatua Track. The house there was about 20 chain from the summit and is still standing, but has been converted into a woolshed. From this house the older children had to travel by horse-back to Makomako School. In 1903 the Tararua School had been built on North Range Road, about half a mile from its junction with the Pahiatua Track; however it had burnt down in 1905. When it was rebuilt in 1906, Herbert, Gertrude and Harold Jensen were amongst its pupils, with Charlie starting in 1907. (Fitz.East-Aokautere: 73) When the family travelled to Palmerston North by trap to attend meetings of the Salvation Army, the exhausting terrain meant that they were obliged to change horses at a Mr Tong's property at the foot of the Track.

Both Rasmus and Agnes are recalled as very hard workers. Rasmus had his roadwork, while Agnes, who had worked on her father's farm in Australia, continued working on the couple's own farm after her marriage. The family operated the property as a dairy farm, supplying the Tararua dairy factory on the corner of the Pahiatua Track and North Range Road. This small cheese factory apparently preceded the often-referred-to 'first' Tararua dairy factory which was opened there in 1908 - by which time the Jensen family was living elsewhere. The original 'Tararua Cheese Company', a co-operative factory, had begun operations on 1 October 1905. (ES 20/1/1906) This totally forgotten factory has the distinction of being the true direct ancestor of the well-known, present day 'Tararua' brand of cheese. The '1908' Tararua dairy factory was later closed and sold to the settlers at Ballance, who shifted it to that district.

The Pahiatua Track farm was apparently sold during 1907, with Rasmus buying a better farm at Kiwitea. This next farm was sold after about six weeks, and they purchased a dairy farm at Kairanga. The children started at Kairanga School in October 1907. In the meantime, between March and June of 1907, Rasmus had metalled 200 yards of Setters Line [£77], on the outskirts of Palmerston North. He also built a barn capable of holding 20 work-horses on the Kairanga farm. Rasmus continued to work on roading contracts, including metalling Kairanga-Bunnythorpe Road between February and March of 1909 [£158], and also No. 1 Line [western end of Tremaine Avenue] between May and March of 1910 [£48]. (K.C.C. Minutes, Folio 72,84,92) He later did work on the Wood Street area of Palmerston North and on Leen Road near Rongotea. After the farm was improved, he gave up the roading

contracts and concentrated on dairy farming. (Letter: 18/4/1993, George Jensen to VAB)

Rasmus was still at Kairanga in late 1917, when he enrolled on the Alien Register. However, that year the family purchased a portion of the former Riddiford estate, which had formerly surrounded the northern side of Longburn. This property included the Riddiford homestead, on State Highway 56, directly opposite Walkers Road.



Edward J. Riddiford's distinctive homestead, opposite Walkers Road, Longburn, photographed around 1890, when it was fairly new. It became the home of Rasmus and Agnes Jensen in 1917. The old house, with its distinctive orange tiled roof and sawdust-filled wall cavities [for insulation], is still standing, although it is now subdivided out of the farm. (Palmerston North Public Library)



Tea break in a farmyard, about 1917. From left are Ernest, Agnes, George, Charlie, Rasmus and Herb Jensen. (Valerie Hewitt)

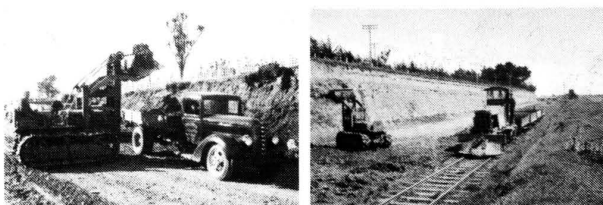
Rasmus always kept very good health, apart from being struck down during the 1918 Influenza Epidemic. However, as the country began to feel the effects of the coming Depression, Rasmus also felt the need to develop his farm with drainage and other improvements, in order to make it viable. By then he owned six properties in the vicinity, possibly intending there to be one for each of his six sons. He operated these as a large dairy farm, supplying the Glaxo factory at Bunnythorpe. In the mid-1920s, when dairy prices were very good, Rasmus received a large offer for one farm, which would have freeholded the other five. He chose not to accept it. Unfortunately, almost overnight followed the beginnings of the Depression. By this time, only Charlie was still unmarried and living at home, and thus able to help on the farm. Then Rasmus suffered an accident while working on a sawbench.

All this emotional and physical strain caused Rasmus to develop heart problems and as a result he died suddenly on 5 January 1928, aged 61 years. He became one of the first to be buried at Kelvin Grove Cemetery which had opened in 1927. Two years later his estate was declared bankrupt.

Agnes went to live in Feilding and later, when she was no longer able to live alone, she lived with her sons, though mainly with Alf and Harold. Their families were by then grown up. She died, aged 93 years, on 19 August 1964.

The Jensen boys made their mark around Palmerston North, especially Herb, the eldest. He began by working for his father on the farm and was an expert shearer in his day. He became an agricultural contractor, carting sheep, cattle and bobby calves, in the latter case, assisted by his wife Ivy May, nee Russell. They farmed at Karere from around 1923 and had to start from scratch, using apple boxes as 'kitchen chairs'. In about 1925 they went to Whakarongo and then, in about 1927, to Lyndhurst Street, Palmerston North.

Herb's first truck was a Willys-Knight - the first of many assorted 'work' vehicles. During the Depression, Herb worked two days a week on Public Works, at a time when it was impossible to "even buy a job," as he used to say. By the time of the Napier Earthquake in 1931, he had two trucks. He used these to take goods to Napier, bringing Napier people back to camp at the Showgrounds on the return journey.



These snapshots by Herb Jensen show some of his contracting jobs. (Left): Herb's Fargo truck being loaded with dirt, during a hill-removal job, around 1939. (Right): Major earthworks were required to permit the transfer of the railway system from Main Street to the present Milson route. The work took place in several stages; this photo probably dates from around 1939. Contrast his machinery with their equivalents in the 1870s and the 1990s. (Valerie Hewitt)

His contracting business grew to include the lease of the clay pit behind the former Brick & Pipes Company [of 'Hoffmann Kiln' fame] in Featherston Street. By this time, it was deep enough to become a metal quarry. He also carted metal from the Manawatu River. He had a lot of heavy machinery and his business supplied a considerable amount of metal for the formation of the runway at Ohakea during World War Two. He also helped with the drainage work during the construction process. Other major works he was involved with included constructing a well beside the Fitzherbert Bridge as an auxiliary supply of water for the city during the 1940s. In the early 1950s his company laid the waterpipes between the newly-built Turitea Dam and Palmerston North. He also designed a drain plough, called the 'Jensen Drain Plough', which he patented. This was marketed and he received a royalty of £1 for each one sold for 16 years. In early 1942 he moved his household and his truckyard to Cuba Street. In the mid-1960s he moved to Tremaine Avenue.

To younger Palmerstonians, the most familiar effects Herb Jensen had on the city were his subdivisions, including streets named after family members. The first of these was Jensen Street, off Ruahine Street. He then subdivided land off Featherston Street and put in Birmingham, Liverpool and Gloucester Streets, as well as part of Glasgow Street. He then began gradually subdividing land he and his son Stan had been farming in Gillespies Line. He put in, amongst others, Benmore, Herbert and Leslie Avenues, the latter two named after himself and his eldest son [there was already a 'Stanley Avenue'].

In 1947 he became a Palmerston North City Councillor, polling very well for a first-time candidate. He did not stand for a second term in 1950. He died in 1982, survived by his second wife, Grace [formerly Flower]. Ivy had died in 1972.

Harold, Charlie and George also became farmers, while Alf operated an agricultural business and is remembered as a haybaling contractor. Ernie operated a metal pit at the end of Maxwells Line and later bought the old 'Scandinavian Block' property on the corner of Roberts Line and Napier Road, which had been allotted to Nils Christian Christiansen in 1871. Around 1950 Ernie opened up a metal pit on this property, alongside the section of Roberts Line which was once called 'Andersen's Cutting'. Many truckloads of metal from it were used in the early 1950s to fill the runway extensions at Milson Airport. More came from the former Brick & Pipes clay pit. The Roberts Line metal pit is now used as a tree nursery.

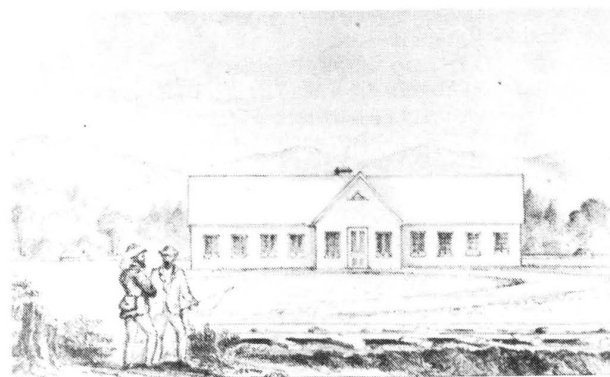
(Family Sources:- George Jensen, Hamilton; Valerie Hewitt, Palmerston North; Aileen Carlyle, Taupo; Ian Jensen, Palmerston North)

JORGEN JEPSEN and KAREN WAARNSTROP PETERSEN

Jorgen was born in 1847, in Sondervilstrup, a little village in Schleswig. His mother was Heilwig Kirstine Sluus, a farm maid, while his father was farm-owner, Peter Jepsen Eckhaus, who was married to someone else. Three years later Heilwig married Peter Christian Petersen and the couple had a son, Peter Jochum, known as 'Jochum'.

The Prussian invasion of Schleswig-Holstein saw many Danes, including Jorgen and his half-brother Jochum, emigrating to avoid living under German domination and also to avoid being conscripted into the German Army. Jorgen arrived in Wellington in the *Halcione* on 27 July 1872, while Jochum followed the well-worn emigration path to America.

Little is known about Karen's life in Denmark. It is thought that she came from the island of Fyn and that her father was a Funeral Director. She arrived [under her maiden name] in February 1875, and six months later, on August 19th, she married Jorgen at the Feilding Immigration Barracks, on the south-western corner of the Main Street-Ruahine Street intersection, in Palmerston North.



The Feilding Immigration Depot, or Barracks, built during 1873, where Jorgen and Karen Jepsen were married on 19 August 1875. Many immigrants to the Manawatu spent their first days in one of its ten bedrooms, including Scandinavians from the Humboldt, in February 1875. The building stood on the south-west corner of the Ruahine Street-Main Street intersection. In the late 1870s it became Palmerston North's first 'hospital', albeit that it was semi-furnished and rarely used. In 1883 its door had to be forced to get a dead accident victim inside to await an inquest. By 1884 the building was derelict and had become the refuge of tramps who begged from the locals. Annoyed Terrace End residents demanded its destruction or that its doors and windows be boarded it. (Skandia I: 29; WI 4/4/1873; MT 9/1/1883, 1/11/1884) This sketch is by Edith Stanway Halcombe, wife of Arthur Follett Halcombe. Note the wooden tramway in the foreground, in the centre of Main Street. The floor plan of this building appears in Petersen, 1973, between pages 120-1. (Palmerston North Public Library)

Witnesses to the marriage were Carl August Bergersen, carpenter, Palmerston North (q.v.) and Max Voss, landman-farmer of Karere.

Their first child was born at Palmerston North, and their second at Karere. The family believe Jorgen worked for a time at Karere, maybe on the Voss property. He is thought to have also worked at the Trondheim Sawmill near Bunnythorpe, where other children were born.

It was before their move to Karere and probably somewhere in the vicinity of the Palmerston Sawmill and its tramway system [Grey Street-Heretaunga Street], that on 30 May 1877, the household was disrupted by a serious dispute with their neighbours. Apparently the neighbour, Mr A. Clousen and family, had earned a reputation for not returning things they had borrowed. Karen sent her five year old son, Henry, [from a previous relationship] over to collect their hammer, only to have him 'thrown out' of the house by Mrs Clousen. Understandably Karen was very angry at the treatment Henry had apparently been subjected to and used "bad language" as a means of retaliation.

When Mr Clousen arrived home from work, a complicated string of events occurred, beginning with his cutting down one end of Karen's clothesline - leaving her washing lying in the mud. The waste of her labour, and her with a young baby too! Karen responded by apparently attempting to cut down the fence, upsetting Clousen who came charging out of his house and at her. She apparently threatened him with an axe and then struck out at him with a paling when he tried to cut the other end of the clothesline. He turned to run away, tripped over the tramway and fell onto it. When he got up he grabbed a piece of wood.....!

At this Karen and her sister then became extremely frightened and ran into their house, locking the door behind them. This was to little avail as the rather ungentlemanly Mr Clousen burst through it waving his piece of wood. It must have been at this point that Mr Clousen became aware that all was not well. He had in fact broken a rib.

Jorgen, who had not been present, was held accountable for his wife's actions. He was taken to Court on an assault charge. Clousen claimed that his broken rib was a result of Karen striking him with the stick, omitting to mention that he had also fallen over the tramway. Mrs Nissen, another neighbour [and probably later an 'in-law' of the Jepsens] was able to confirm this. Understandably the Magistrate had little sympathy and Clousen's claim of £50 for medical costs [minus any receipts] and loss of wages, was thrown out. Judgement and costs were given to the Jepsens. (MT 11/7/1877)

Life was not always so stressful. The family soon escaped the pressure of the suburbs, and found themselves amongst the first thirteen pioneer families to settle in the Bunnythorpe area. In 1884, Jorgen and a man named Nils Olsen bought 84 acres in Dixons Line in partnership. Jorgen bought out Olsen's share the following year. The couple worked hard clearing the bush from their land, while Jorgen also helped with the formation of Dixons Line. Metal from a hill on the Jepsen farm was used on the road.

The Jepsens were active workers for the community, and Jorgen helped build the first Bunnythorpe Methodist Church, which was opened in 1887. He was also a director of the old Bunnythorpe Hall Company and a trustee of the local Cemetery Board for many years. A jovial man, he had a great sense of humour. Karen was the village midwife and was still attending confinements in her early seventies.

They had ten children, nine boys and one girl. Henry George [1873-28/9/1894, from Karen's previous relationship], their only daughter, Hedwig Christine, [1876-1882], Mathias [1878, married Alice Clevely, Bunnythorpe], Johan Peter [1879, married (1) Hannah Nissen and (2) Elsie Hall], Frederick [1881, married Severina 'Beth' Westerholm - q.v.], Andrew [1883, married Theresa Hiller

from Meubeum, Germany], Jorn [1885-1888], Olaf Ryea [1887, married Nellie Osborne], Otto [1888, married Annie Helen King] and Charles William [1891, married Robina Calvert]. Most of the children settled around the district.

Karen and Jorgen also reared Karen's nephew, Peter Jensen, whose mother Ann Marie, nee Petersen, had died when he was about a year old. She was probably the sister present at the squabble with the neighbours. Ann had married Hans Jensen, from Hoptrup, Denmark, in 1873 at Maryborough, Queensland. Later they came to New Zealand and Hans worked at Richter, Nannestad & Co.'s Flour Mill. Peter became a sheepfarmer at Umutoi and married Kate Foot.

Jorgen died of Bronchitis in 1926, aged 79 years. Karen suffered a severe stroke in 1925 and was bedridden until she died in 1932, aged 83 years. Both are buried in the Bunnythorpe Cemetery.

(Mainly extracts compiled by Eunice Jepsen, Palmerston North, from her book 'The Jepsen Journal' [Palmerston North, 1992]. Also Andrew's birth certificate, 1883)

SVENNE VICTOR LANGKJER F.R.A.S., B.A., B.M. [or Langkjær]

Studies of old newspapers can reveal significant people who have long since been forgotten. One such person was Svenne Victor Langkjer, who was probably known as Victor. Ironically, Langkjer's was the last biography included in this book, long after the other stories had been closed off. He must arguably be one of the more unique Scandinavians in early Palmerston North, hence this honour.

Langkjer was born in Vejle, Denmark, about 1841, although his death certificate said he was born in Copenhagen. He was the son of Svenne and Christine Magrethe Langkjer [nee Moeller]. Langkjer senior was described as having no occupation, so possibly they were a well-off family. Langkjer junior was clearly very well educated, judging by the letters after his name. F.R.A.S. means Fellow of the Royal Astronomical Society; B.A. is assumed to mean Bachelor of Arts; while B.M. is Bachelor of Music. Langkjer junior's death certificate described him as also having "no occupation". He had never married.

As Victor Langkjer, he applied to leave Denmark on 21 July 1873, stating that he was bound for New Zealand. He was then aged 32 and described himself as a 'landman'. On August 23rd, aboard the *Cardigan Castle*, he sailed from Plymouth, England, as an assisted immigrant. He was described as a farm labourer(!). The ship, which arrived at Lyttelton on November 15th, had carried a small party of Danes and Swedes intended for Canterbury, although some settled at Makaretu, in Southern Hawkes Bay.

Langkjer's activities over the following years are at present unknown although it seems likely that he was quite visible somewhere. It is known, however, that by late 1882 he was stricken with pulmonary tuberculosis. Probably he arrived in Palmerston North in mid-1884, where he took a room at the Princess Hotel, in Terrace End, and this became his base.

His first known appearance, in the 'Times' of 19 August 1884, was when a local business loaned him a piano for a Lutheran Concert. This concert was held at the Forester's Hall, on 25 August 1884, and was a benefit for Pastor Gaustad. Langkjer conducted at the very well attended event. He also played the piano, did a cello solo, sang in a duet and composed a special poem for the event, (published MT 26/8/1884) which was recited by little Kamma Ronberg, the future wife of Ditlev G. Monrad II and first lady of 'Kaingahou'. The 'Times' enthusiastically described Langkjer as a master of the piano and indicated that he and his talents were very highly regarded. The more cynical 'Standard' added that this was the old piano from

the Forester's Hall and the worst in the district, but that Langkjer brought out what little music was left in it!

Around the same time, Langkjer purchased a 19 acre section in Terrace End from Frits Jenssen. There he intended to build a "commodious residence" and also an observatory on top of the Terrace. L.G. West was to be the architect. The observatory was to include four concrete pillars, which were to support the "instruments".

Langkjer's brother-in-law, Mr Schillerup (sic), was then an astronomer in Copenhagen. Langkjer intended to communicate with the Copenhagen Observatory and also those at Greenwich, England, and Finisterre, France. He intended to supply information from his observatory to those establishments. (ES 25/8/1884)

As Palmerston North was not thought to have had an observatory until 1910, this was a new turn in its history. It is now known that in early 1881, former mayor, James Linton, had the largest or one of the largest telescopes in the North Island set up in his grounds. (MT 15/1/1881)

Clearing of the observatory site began on 5 September 1884, and theoretically it was to be completed during October. Part of the framework was erected on October 30th. Langkjer intended that a flag be hoisted from a tower on top of the observatory every Saturday at 11:30am and lowered at 12:00am. This flag system would serve the town in the same manner as 'ball time' - a nautical term for supplying the time to viewers who were a long way off. [see photo 'Skandia I': 2] The flag must have been visible for some distance. Borough Councillor, L.G. West, drew criticism when he pressed to have a road built, leading to the observatory. He was accused of favouring Langkjer as he was a fellow Dane. On November 1st, the flag was to be raised for the first time, so evidently the observatory was operating. A "beautiful chimney" was also being made for the building, a model of which was on display at Mr J.O. Hanlon's works. Hanlon was also building the concrete pillars.

In mid-September, while still living at the Princess Hotel, Langkjer started a Musical Academy in order to occupy his own time. He gave singing lessons in German, Russian, Spanish, Italian, French and also the Scandinavian languages.

A third facet of Langkjer's short but impressive contribution to Palmerston North's history was the Scandinavian Club he organised and chaired in late 1884. There had been other Scandinavian Clubs in New Zealand, but this is the first known to have been established in Palmerston North.

On October 4th, all Scandinavians were called to attend a meeting of the Scandinavian Club "whether members or not... by order of the chairman, S.V. Langkjer." The meeting was held at their club rooms at the Princess Hotel. A large gathering of men from Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland and Iceland attended this meeting, at which this new Scandinavian Club was formed. "Britishers" could also join. The club's objective was to hold social gatherings as well as to enjoy literature, music and chess. They also organised a torchlight procession for a few days later, in honour of George Snelson, whose term as Mayor was about to expire. Three rockets fired from the Club Hotel were to begin this procession around the Square. A band was to participate. This event was, however, postponed until December when Snelson's term was due to expire. Probably it was not held.

At a club meeting in mid-October, it was proposed that the club be registered under the Friendly Societies Act and also that they join activities of the local Friendly Societies. By late October the Club had 102 members and a set of bye-laws which, the 'Times' said, appeared to have been framed with skill.

Langkjer also gave lectures on the subjects in which he was involved. One was on Free Thought, Spiritualism and Salvationism, another on the powers of music. He wrote a letter on southern observatories for publication in the

'Times', but [unfortunately for today's researchers] the editor thought it too long to print and not of interest to general readers.

So, what became of Langkjer and where was his observatory? Probably it was his tuberculosis which caused him to disappear from public life in late 1884. By mid-April 1885 he was clearly dying, his death occurring on May 27th. His burial, on May 28th, was witnessed by Nicolai Hansen and Carl Anderson (q.v. ?). [Pastor Gaustad was probably out of town]. Unusually, undertaking services were also performed by a Scandinavian, one O. Eriksen. Langkjer now rests in an unmarked plot at Terrace End Cemetery [see cemetery photo elsewhere]. Unfortunately there is no obituary - nor even a mention of his death - in the surviving Manawatu newspapers. It almost seems he wanted it that way.

Langkjer's land is more difficult to trace. He owned it such a short time that he does not appear in the Borough Council rate books. Probably it was one of the 19 acre sections on the southern side of Featherston Street, between Vogel Street and Terrace [now Ruahine] Street. Probably it was section 181, fronting Featherston Street, which overlooked the sloping section 182, Terrace End School and present-day Ruahine Street. Frits Jenssen's partner, Jacob Nannestad, paid rates on section 181 in 1884 and 1885. If this assumption is correct, the rate payments imply that Langkjer's house was not built. This land, which became the 'Ross Block' and includes Rangiora and Moheke Avenues, would have been a very suitable site in its day. Unfortunately, it seems likely the observatory did not outlive its talented builder. It was not mentioned when the Comet Fabry caught local attention in May 1886. (ES 3/5/1886, 5/5/1886; Orchiston: 72)

The Scandinavian Club probably also faltered with the decline and loss of Langkjer. It was never registered as a Friendly Society. The next known Scandinavian Club, regarded in modern times as 'the first', was formed in 1914. It was presided over by architect, L.G. West, who would have been involved with the earlier Club. [see Skandia I: 68]

[FOOTNOTE: Langkjer's brother-in-law, Schillerup (sic), was probably the Dane, Hans Carl Freidrich Schellerup, who between 1827 and 1887, translated the work of Al Sufi, an Arabian astronomer, into French. This Schellerup, although he was not apparently related, inspired by their similar surnames the very successful Australian comet-hunter J. Frank Skjellerup. (Skjellerup: 32) Skjellerup's relatives, in turn, founded Skellerup Industries Ltd., the well-known New Zealand company, which still recognises its founder's Scandinavian [Danish] ties by presenting a model Viking longship to the annual 'Skellerup Young Farmer of the Year'. The comet, Grigg-Skjellerup, was named after the above comet-hunter and also its prominent New Zealand-based original discoverer, John Grigg [1838-1920]. Grigg built his first observatory at Thames in 1884, the same year Langkjer built his in Palmerston North. By this time, at least six other private observatories had existed in New Zealand. (Orchiston: 75) Grigg was heavily involved with musical activities, just as Langkjer was. (MacKrell: 75-9) Unfortunately the editor of the 'Times', in rejecting Langkjer's letter to the paper, denied us a chance to see just where Langkjer fitted into New Zealand's astronomical history.]

(Sources include: S.V.L.'s Death Certificate; Terrace End Cemetery Records; John Seymour of Manawatu Astronomical Society; Danes Worldwide Archives letter 20/4/1994 B.F.Larsen to VAB; MT 19,21,23,25,26/8/1884, 6,9,19/9/1884, 1,3,6,11,13,18,28, 30/10/1884, 1,20/11/1884; ES 23,25,26,27/8/1884, 6,30/9/1884, 6/10/1884, 23/4/1885)

CAPTAIN CHARLES MAGNUS NEILSON and SARAH ALMA BROWN

In 1983 the Ede family of Awahou North, in the Pohangina Valley, passed over a collection of books and letters to the Manawatu Museum. These had belonged to Mrs Eileen

Savell, nee Neilson, who had died in 1970. Although the items do not give a full picture of the family, they are significant. The items included the Log Books from Neilson's days as a Master Mariner around the New Zealand coast, especially his participation in the timber trade from Foxton. The collection includes 48 untranslated letters from Swedish relatives - his sibling named N.P. Engstrom, and later a Kristina Engstrom. They were written between 1875 and 1896.

Carl Magnus 'Charlie' Neilson was born 28 September 1845 in Boda Parish, Kalmar, Sweden. His parents were Simon Pehrsson [died 1864] and Elin, nee Magnidotter [died 1865]. Aminoff states that he came to New Zealand in 1872, although, as he was a seaman, this may have been a brief stay. One of the two Certificates of Discharge in New Zealand indicates that he was an Able Seaman on the *Cyrus* [317 tons, of Wellington] between 27 November 1873 and 11 March 1874. The ship had been overseas and he left it at Wellington. The other Certificate of Discharge, which is undated, says that he was discharged at Lyttelton, from the ship *Ocean Mail* [1037 tons, of London], after an overseas voyage. The *Ocean Mail* is known to have arrived in Wellington on 2 February 1874. (Brett: 229) Both indicate that he had very good ability and conduct, and was sober.

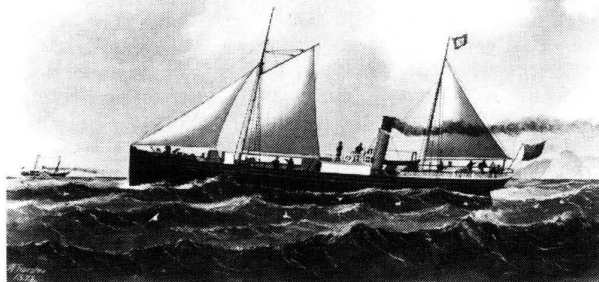
According to the *Cyrus* discharge document of 1874, Charlie could not sign his name, as he marked the document with an 'X'. This fact, and likely language problems at that stage, possibly explain the variety of name spellings and years of birth which appear throughout the records. However Aminoff and Charlie's headstone both agree on his having been born in 1845.

Charlie reappears on 20 February 1877, on board the brig *Janet Stewart* [of Melbourne], sailing from Brisbane, en route for Surprise Island and Huon Island. The former has not been traced, probably having been renamed; the latter is in the New Caledonian group, and north-west of the main island. The *Janet Stewart* was probably a trader. The Log Book later records that the *Janet Stewart* departed from Huon Island on 1 June 1877 bound for Melbourne. However on June 16th, strong winds came up and caused problems. The ship was taking in water and required constant pumping so they had to run for Sydney. Fortunately the breeze dropped on the 17th and the ship arrived in Sydney on the 19th. After repairs by carpenters, it sailed from Sydney on the 29th. (see *Addenda & Errata*)

It appears that Neilson was amongst the crew of the *Cape Wrath*, which sailed from Mauritius to Calcutta on 24 February 1878; and also on the *Beneras* (sic), which sailed from Calcutta to London, departing the Sand Heads on 1 May 1878. The 1646 tons ship *Benares* [assuming it was the same ship] would have been on the return leg of a voyage to New Zealand, having arrived at Port Chalmers on 14 March 1878. (Brett: 232) He was certainly back in New Zealand by December 1879.

Charlie's records show that he was studying navigation in 1877 and that he sat an examination at about this time. This may have been for his Master's Certificate, the date of which Aminoff quotes as 28 October 1898 [No. 2695], by which time he was probably well retired.

Charlie married Sarah Alma Brown, known as 'Alma', at Christchurch on 8 July 1880. Alma was apparently from Litchurch, Derby, England, which is noted inside one of her school books, dated 1872. Another indicates that she attended St. James Cotton School. In 1874 she was attending school in Christchurch, New Zealand. On 30 April 1884 Neilson was naturalised at Lyttelton where the couple were living with their baby daughter, Edith Alma Eileen, usually called 'Eileen', and where their coastal shipping business was based. Eileen had been born on 31 December 1883. Their son Charles Peter Hamilton, also called Charlie, was born on 25 January 1886. [Note:- Existing records show that Eileen has been variously known by all three of her christian names. Charles Peter has also been referred to as Peter.]



The steamer Napier, from an 1879 painting by E. Forster. The SS Napier frequently assisted sail-powered vessels, including Charlie Neilson's Amateur, to cross the Foxton Bar. It was during one of those occasions, in January 1888, that the Amateur ran aground for the last time. The Napier was a regular visitor to Foxton from 1873, being commanded between c1876 and c1885 by Captain Henry Fisk. Fisk was very prominent in his day as a master mariner, mainly plying the sea routes around the lower North Island and the upper South Island. He was later the Pilot at Wairau. This photo is dedicated to the late Hazel Mary Foster, nee Fisk, [1896-1991] of Palmerston North - VAB. (Alexander Turnbull Library, with the permission of C.P. Fisk)

The records of Charlie's best-known vessel, the ketch *Amateur*, begin on 8 December 1879. That day it sailed, under his command, from "Barry's Bay" for "Tikio Bay", to collect Mr Knight's wool. Possibly this was Mr A.C. Knight of Tekau Station, which was at the mouth of Akaroa Harbour. (Acland: 229)

The 26 ton *Amateur* was built at Wairau, Marlborough, in 1869. It was 51.9 feet long, 15.4 feet wide, 5.9 feet deep and was commanded by Charlie, who co-owned it with his business partner, William Sinclair, also of Lyttelton. The vessel operated around Banks Peninsula for some years, with occasional visits to Oamaru, flitting around the small harbours and transporting whatever cargo was available. The *Amateur* first arrived in Foxton, from Oamaru, on 30 September 1884. Thereafter it extended its 'flitting' to include the ports of the lower North Island.

The *Amateur's* cargo list over the years included general merchandise - potatoes; wool; farm and domestic equipment; house parts; sheepskins; bricks [12 tons]; cases of cheese, ham, bacon, mutton; sacks of wheat, chaff, flour; cement; a porpoise skin [!]; as well as frequently carrying whole cargoes of coal and especially of timber. The cargoes from one visit to Foxton provide an example. On 2 December 1885 the *Amateur* arrived in Foxton carrying 170 sacks of oats [of two sizes], 15 sacks of wheat, 5 sacks of barley, 36 sacks of potatoes and 100 [100lb] bags of flour, on behalf of the Nathans' company; 120 [50lb] bags of flour on behalf of Moin & Co; and 50 sacks flour on behalf of Aulsebrooks. The total freight payable was £17/16/-. At Foxton the *Amateur* loaded 18,845 feet of timber, sailing for Kaiapoi on December 13th and arriving on the 18th. This latter freight charge amounted to £37/12/-, paid by F. Robin. Thus timber was easily the more lucrative cargo.

Sawmills and businesses with which Charlie Neilson and the *Amateur* did business in the Manawatu, included W.W. Corpe's Makino Steam Sawmills of Feilding; Richter, Nannestad & Co., timber merchant of Palmerston North; A.H. Wylds, Produce Merchant of Palmerston North; P. & J. Bartholomew of Kiwitea Steam Sawmill of Feilding and Messrs Rowe & Son of Rongotea.

Foxton was a frequent port of call for the *Amateur*, but must have been one of the most dreaded. The above mentioned visit of December 1885 showed a remarkably quick turn-around. The Log Book records a variety of

incidents and mishaps, not all of which occurred at Foxton. On Sunday November 15, 1884 they got over the bar of the Waimakariri River, heading for Kaiapoi and discovered that instead of a flag pole, they were being instructed by the day-pilot standing on a hillock on the southern river bank, with a flag on a stick. They "took Peter on board as a pilot and got stuck above Stewart's Gully (and) had to discharge two boat (loads) of timber." They reached the wharf on the 18th and departed for Lyttelton on the 21st, with "no pilot, no flagstaff", to load for Foxton.

Mishaps of the type which dogged the *Amateur's* visits to Foxton, would have been common occurrences for all visiting vessels, especially as time, and soil erosion upstream, wore on. On Monday, 29 August 1886, the *Amateur* hit a snag while attempting to leave and put the boat onto a bank near a river landmark - some fishermen's huts. The time spent removing the cargo [timber], getting the boat off the beach, back to Foxton for re-beaching and repairs, saw a month pass by. By 11 September, Neilson was out of money and borrowed £7. On the 13th he telegraphed home for more money. Finally, between 28 September and 1 October, they loaded 18,555 feet of timber. However conditions were such that it was not until 16 October that the *SS Jane Douglas* finally towed them across the Foxton Bar and they set sail for Lyttelton, arriving on the 24th. Steam-power was showing its advantages over sail-power where Foxton was concerned.

For a true picture of the life and times of a sail-powered coastal cargo boat of the period, and its harrassed crew, the following is the *Amateur's* career over a four month period. The 'crew' apparently comprised of Charlie and one other man. This second position was held by Oscar Christiansen between 3 May 1887 and 13 December 1887, and then by Robert Taylor from 14 December 1887. The change of crew occurred in Foxton.

Extracts from Alma's letters over the period provide a valuable perspective of the family life of a coastal seaman. The family home was on Hawkhurst Road, Salts Gully, Lyttelton. It seems that by 10 May 1887 the couple were in the process of buying their Pohangina Valley property, and Alma advised that the blocks to be ballotted were between 105 and 120 acres. She also mentioned the loss of the schooner *Reward*, with three of its five crew, including the captain. On 4 September 1887 she again wrote, advising of local news and tragedies, and that Mr Smith, who was apparently to begin clearing bush on their new property, had arrived at Ashhurst. Possibly Charlie arrived home a few days after the letter was posted. She frequently had no idea where he was.

On 14 September 1887 the *Amateur* reached Foxton from Lyttelton, having sheltered under Kapiti Island for several days, but could not cross the bar. The Manawatu River was in flood and at 2pm on the 15th the Flood Tide balls went up on the signal on shore. [see Andrew Seabury, the Foxton Pilot, and his signal in 'Skandia I': 1-2] However, by the time the *Amateur* reached it, the wind had come up and they could not cross. The vessel had to wait at sea until conditions improved. Charlie and crew spent this time catching 3 sharks and 4 snapper, and also visiting another similarly placed boat, the *Ocean Bird* - and the shore, in their dinghy. Finally the *SS Napier* towed them in on the 17th, when the bar had 8 feet of water. The *Ocean Bird* was not so lucky. The towline broke twice and then the Ebb Tide ball went up and they had to stay outside.

After discharging the cargo, the *Amateur* was careened above the wharf and one side cleaned, before taking on ballast "below the second black buoy - good place." They were ready for sea on the 28th, but bar-bound until 1 October at 9 am, when the *SS Napier* towed them through a big swell and over the Bar. On the 2nd they were at Port Hardy [D'Urville Island] where, as the boat was taking water, it was again careened for scraping, cleaning, caulking and tarring. After its crew had spent some time fishing,

the boat was finally taken off the beach at midnight on the 4th and returned to sea.

On 6 October they ran onto a ballast heap while going into Ferntown, near Collingwood, although the boat was soon free. On the 7th and 8th they loaded 40 tons of coal before being moved to the opposite bank of the channel at midnight. At 4 am on the 9th the *Amateur* "fell over" in four feet of water but luckily did not do any damage. Later that day they put 10 stakes in the creek, probably to support the boat, before Charlie visited the local coal mine, which he thought was very wet. On the 12th they went into the bush and got some supplejack to repair a coal basket and then Neilson mixed some paint for his house, back in Lyttelton. On the 13th the boat floated but had to be hastily rescued from going onto the other bank.

After obtaining water they headed for sea but, seemingly true to form, got stuck on the bar. The vessel was left rolling heavily in the slight swell before the tide went away. On the 14th they got free and headed for Tata Island where they anchored and tidied up. Charlie went ashore for bread but could not get any. On the 15th he could not even get ashore because of the sea and when he did so the next day, he could only get one loaf. By the 17th they were in Queen Charlotte's Sound, where they remained until the 24th, obtaining supplies from passing boats, including mailing a letter and obtaining 15 loaves of bread. They did maintenance and fished. At midnight on the 24th they sailed, sighting Manawatu Lights by 7pm.

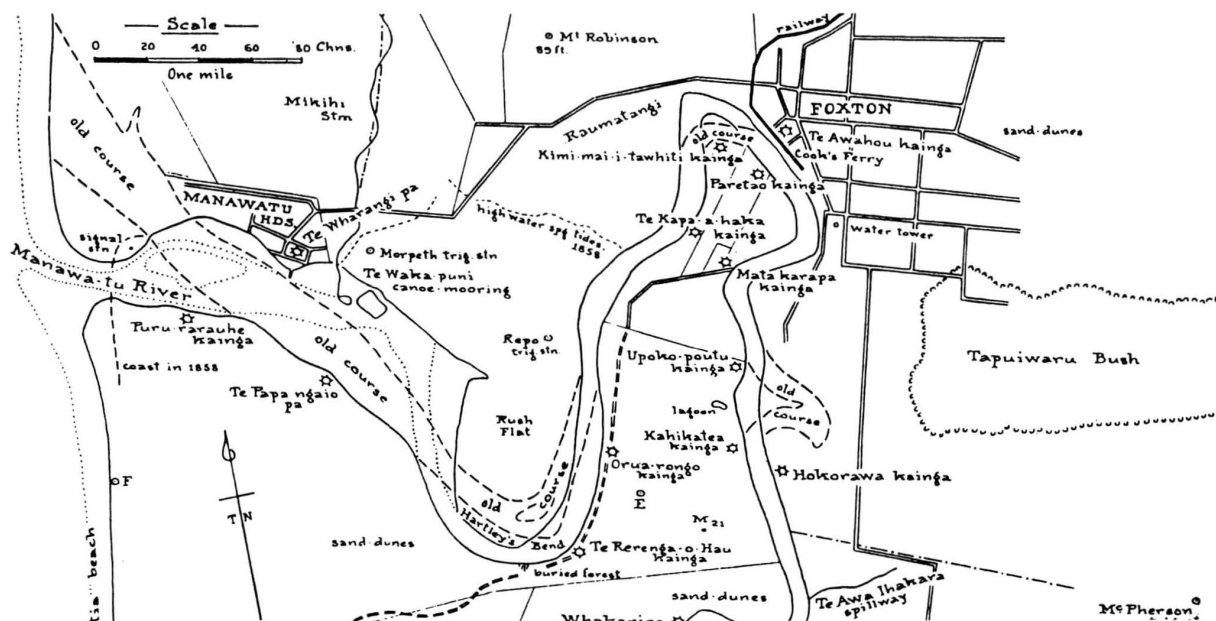
On 22 October Alma wrote advising that Mr Smith had begun clearing their new Pohangina Valley property. She had written in an earlier letter that Smith said the bush on their land was not heavy, and that she expected that they would "find the money to go on clearing it." On 28 October Alma again wrote, thanking Charlie for the telegram she had just received from Foxton. "Several times since your absence I pressed the children to me, thinking we were alone, as it is some time since I got a few welcome lines." The children, aged almost 4 and 21 months, had been fretful, and crying for their father. "I suppose, dear husband, your clothes are looking up. I am looking forward to the time when I shall be able to wash them for you."

For a change the *Amateur* had crossed the Foxton Bar easily on the 26th. However, the river became shallow, and the *SS Napier* and the *Ocean Bird* were both aground. The *Amateur* finally reached the wharf on the 28th. Mr P.S. Bartholomew of the Kiwitea Steam Sawmill at Feilding had written on the 29th October saying he had no cargo available for this trip, but that Charlie could visit. Charlie spent the next two days at Ashhurst, no doubt at his new farm, before unloading the coal between 31 October and 3 November.

When the hold had been cleaned out, the boat was careened to put 6 copper bolts in the patch, but as only two were available, four iron ones had to be used. After refloating they commenced loading timber - as it gradually arrived. Charlie wrote to the mill on the 14th to see what the delay was. He received a reply saying that the order was complete and that he was to deliver it as soon as possible.

The prospect of sailing a partially filled boat saw a somewhat annoyed Charlie wire the mill, asking for damages and for freight and demurrage. He received no reply. Finally, on the 17th, one truck arrived with the mid-day train bringing 2504 feet of timber, most of which he took. On the 18th, he wrote, as "Neilson & Sinclair", to Messrs Rowe & Sons [no doubt the sawmill supplying the timber], threatening to hold the timber at the Wellington Wharf and to charge an extra £1/10/-, if they did not pay the freight in advance. Presumably the fees were paid.

After leaving the Foxton Wharf on the 19th, a few false starts, and getting stuck about four times, meant they were unable to cross the Bar until the 25th. The *SS Napier* which towed them out had made two round trips since the 18th, which shows the disadvantages sailboats faced as competitors, even if they did not have the fuel costs. On the



Map IX, from G. Leslie Adkins' book 'Horowhenua', gives an indication of some of the favourite resting places of the *Amateur*. Manawatu Heads is now the village of Foxton Beach. The port, and town, of Foxton, were some 5 miles upstream.

26th the *Amateur* was finally rounding Cape Terawhiti and kept too close, inadvertently getting amongst Tom's Rocks, but got out safely and anchored inside Barrett's Reef.

On 22 November, Alma wrote "the time seems very long, dear Charlie, since you were with us. I suppose your clothes look the worse for wear." She very much hoped that he would be home for Christmas and New Year's Day. "I think this is the longest time (we have been apart) since we were married." Their little son was getting much sharper and imitating Eileen. "I often tell him his father will beat him when he comes home. He says 'Oh no no Dada!'" She had heard of the bad weather and had sent a telegram to the Pilot at Wellington, who had replied that the *Amateur* had sailed from Foxton the previous night. She thought it was worth the 2d or 6d for a delayed telegram to rest at night. "It did me good to know you were safe. Write and say where you are going to. I am very short (of money), not a penny in the house." In fact the *Amateur* was still sitting in the Manawatu River, waiting to cross the Bar.

On 1 December, having unloaded the timber at Wellington and loaded cement, the *Amateur* sailed for Lyttelton, arriving on the 5th. Charlie finally got home to his family at 2pm. The boat was again careened, then ballasted and put to sea on the 13th bound for Timaru. There they took on 120 sacks of flour and by Christmas Day they were at Le Bons Bay, Banks Peninsula. Alma had written on the 23rd, wishing him a happy Christmas and New Year on the family. The letter eventually caught up with him.

On the 26th the *Amateur* was moving again, arriving off Foxton on the 29th and crossing the Bar at 6:30pm. After confirming that the cargo was in good order, apart from a stain on one bag, Neilson turned to other things. On New Year's day he appears to have attended P. Collins' funeral. [Patrick John Collins, father-in-law of the Swede, Enoch Frederick Charles - q.v.] On January 2nd he went up to Palmerston North to the Caledonian Sports Day, which he described as "very tame." Alma wrote on the 8th, thanking him for his telegram on New Year's Day. She also reminded him that little Charlie junior would be 2 years old on January 25th.

After discharging the cargo and doing running repairs, the crew prepared to move again, but on January 16th 1888 the *Amateur's* Log suddenly stops. No doubt the intention was to fill in trivial details later. That was not to be.....!

The *Amateur* made its way permanently into the history of Manawatu on the evening of Tuesday, 19 January 1888. At that time it went ashore on the South Spit of the Manawatu River while being towed out from Foxton by its old friend, *SS Napier*. Also being towed was the schooner *Clyde*. There was a moderate north-westerly gale.

Unfortunately the *Clyde* mis-took a signal made to the *Napier*, and set its headsail, which carried all three vessels toward the South Spit. The *Napier* and *Clyde* got clear, but the *Amateur*, at the tailend of the little water-borne procession, became stranded. The *Amateur* was carrying a crew of three, all of whom survived. As a result the boat became a total loss. (Ingram: 234; AJHR 1888, Vol. III, H-19:21) At this time the river had a significantly different course and thus the wreck in fact occurred north of the present Foxton Ocean Beach car park. [Note: The *Clyde* was owned by Captain Sawyer, who lived in Harbour Street, Foxton, overlooking the Foxton Wharf. It is thought that the adjoining Clyde Street may be named after this vessel.]

The *Amateur* was carrying a cargo of timber for Messrs P. & J. Bartholomew, of Feilding, which had to be abandoned with it. (FS 21/1/1888) While the owners and insurers were obliged to abandon the timber stacked aboard the wreck, the locals were only too happy to accept the return of this bounty from the sea. Timber salvaged from the *Amateur* was used to build fishermen's cottages on the beach and these are said to have been the first such buildings to be erected at that part of what was then called Manawatu Heads - now Foxton Beach village. Amongst these was the house [or additions to it] of Hans Andresen, a Danish-born carrier and prominent whitebaiting expert of the times. [Note: The Log of 29/8/1886, mentions fishermen's huts already in the vicinity, while the Andresen family built their home before 1888.]

From 10 December 1888 the Log resumes with the *Huon Bell*, which never apparently returned to Foxton, although it had been aground several miles north of the river in 1878. (MH 10/9/1878) The vessel mainly plied the route between Lyttelton and Waitapu, in Golden Bay, where a lot of timber was obtained. The book ends on 26 June 1890 and the one which replaced it is missing.

At some point during the 1890s, the Neilson family moved to their 300 acre farm on Utuwai Road in the Pohangina Valley. This must have been a dramatic change of scene for an aging sea captain, but a relief to his wife. No doubt this farm, which had apparently been ballotted to them about May 1887, was the place he visited in October

1887. In July of that year he had apparently purchased "two horses (for) Pohangina." Probably the horses were used by Mr Smith to clear the land. Families from Foxton had formed a settlement in this area, hence the re-appearance of Foxton's former name 'Awahou,' which was bestowed on the new area. Four of the children's school books, labelled 'Awahou School' have survived, including one dated 1898 and another indicating 'Alma' [Eileen] was in Standard Six in 1901.

After years of only seeing her husband occasionally, Alma did not get to enjoy finally separating him from the sea. She died at Pohangina in March 1900, aged 45 years. Charlie did not get to enjoy his retirement for long either. He died in Palmerston North on 21 October 1907 aged 62 years. The couple, plus Peter [died 1929], son-in-law A.L. 'Leo' Savell [1882-1940] and Eileen [died 27/8/1970, aged 86] are buried together at Terrace End Cemetery.

Both Charlie junior and Eileen, a V.A.D. Nurse, served overseas during World War One, and are acknowledged as such on the Pohangina School Roll of Honour. Amongst Eileen's achievements was her role as an assistant to Ettie Rout in the dispensing of condoms and anti-venereal disease information to the troops in Europe and the Middle East. Eileen later married Leo Savell, but there were no children. She is well remembered by the Pohangina Valley community as a hard worker and a local character, who ran the old family farm in very much a 'hands-on' manner, even into her 80s.

(Sources: The Ede Collection, held at the Manawatu Museum; Aminoff No. 2051; others include Jim Lundy, Pohangina; Colin Cochran, Foxton)

OTTO IVERSEN TILLER and MAREN SORENSEN

The Tiller family was one of the founding families in the Kelvin Grove area, now a suburb of Palmerston North. Their name is perpetuated by the nearby 'Tiller Close', while 'Maren Place' is soon to be formed on the old farm itself. The Tiller story is particularly significant because of the material available on them - crowned by the discovery of a 1929 interview with Otto. Unlike most of our immigrant stories, Otto did not arrive in New Zealand with an assisted passage. His story provides an example of how other people came to be here.

Otto Iversen Tiller was born at Stjordal, Norway on 15 May 1843. The Stjordal church book records his birth, to Iver Larsen Tiller, a farmer, and his wife Elisabeth Johansdatter, and also the christening of young "Otte" on 18 June 1843. He was the eighth child in his family, hence the name 'Otto'. His parents had married at Stjordal in 1827.

In about 1828 Otto's father, "Iver Larsen Floan" [born at 'Floan'] had bought the farm 'Vestre Tildra', in Skatval, in Hedre Stjordal, from his father-in-law, Johan Johanson Alstad, [born at 'Alstad']. It was from the name of this farm that the surname 'Tiller' is derived - 'Vestre Tildra' translates to 'Tiller West'. Otto would have at first used the surname 'Tildra', the birthplace apparently being utilized as a surname in local custom. "Johan Johanson Alstad" had purchased the farm in about 1800 and it is described as his "second [ranked] farm", indicating that he had another farm somewhere, maybe at Alstad. ['Stjordsalsboka': 233] 'Vestre Tildra' was owned by Otto's family for over 60 years. Iver operated the farm until 1862, when he sold it to his son, Johan Iversen Tildra [Otto's brother], who in turn sold it out of the family in 1864 when he went to America.

'Vestre Tildra', the owners and users of which are known since 1749, consisted of 103 mal [= 25.75 acres] of which, in 1866, 99 mal [= 24.75 acres] was cultivated farmland. Although it had then been sold for 2 years, it is noteworthy that in 1866 it produced 4 barrels of barley, 24 barrels of

oats and 40 barrels of potatoes. They also kept 1 horse, 4 dairy cows and 10 sheep. Thus Otto grew up in a market gardening family and he said the name 'Tiller' ['Tildra'] signified the family history of tilling the soil. This was the training ground for his market gardening/mixed farming career in New Zealand. The size of Otto's New Zealand farm must have seemed magnificent in comparison. [Note: During WWII and the German invasion, the owners of Vestre Tildra were forced to abandon it temporarily.]

The church book for Nedre Stjordal [Lower Stjordal], records that Otto Iversen Tiller, a bachelor aged 21, emigrated to Australia on 1 March 1864. At this point Otto's 1929 interview begins:

Orjan Olsen, a Norwegian writer, had been befriended by the family of Palmerston North businessman, Arthur Hopwood, [founder of Hopwood's Hardware], on the steamer between San Francisco and Tahiti. In October 1929, Olsen arrived at the Palmerston North Railway Station where he was collected by Arthur Hopwood in his limousine. Hopwood invited Olsen to stay at his home and later drove him around to meet some of the earliest Scandinavians in the district. Eighty five year old Otto Tiller was the first he interviewed.

Olsen recorded that Tiller left his home in Stjodalshalsen, near Trondheim, Norway, in search of gold. *"At that time the railways only reached Eidsvoll. From there [probably Stjodalshalsen] I followed a group of migrants along the coast to Kristiansand, where we had to wait for a week for a passage to Leith [Scotland]."* In Leith *"we met a Norwegian-speaking gent who arranged the travel in a closed wagon (and we were unable) to leave it before (reaching) the destination. Somebody was afraid to lose us! Our luggage was not seen again before we came onboard the steamer."* The Consul told Tiller *"The best thing is for you to hand over the money now, and I will do the rest"*, which the Consul did. There were *"500 passengers onboard, and we had a daily language course in English, so upon arrival in Melbourne I could make myself well understood. I travelled to the gold of Victoria, worked hard and usually made enough to live and eat, but never struck it rich. It happened I once had to borrow a shilling for food from the Chinese, and once when I dug a shaft, I was on bread and water. I often stood there soaked to the skin for 12 hours."*

"I had heard that New Zealand was full of gold, but I did not have enough money for the ticket. So one day I met a man from Inderoen [Norway], who lent me the money although he had never seen me before. He only did a good turn for a fellow countryman. We landed at Hokitika (in) the South Island, (having taken) a week to cross the sand bar in the bay. I did very well in the gold fields of New Zealand and could have made a small fortune there, if I hadn't met this man there telling me that Timaru was the place to go. This district supplied the whole country with wheat. I followed his advice, but mistook the name and ended up in Taranaki instead. There is a difference - Taranaki is in the North Island! I arrived (on) the Dilligence (at) Wanganui before I realised my error, so I was told to go to Palmerston North, (where) there is plenty of work. I started to work for Richter, Nannestad and Jenssen, Sawmillers. Most Scandinavians came there for a start, but I stayed for 37 years. Sometimes the sawdust was so dense (that) we could not see each other, even close up. I was told I risked ill-health, but as you can see it did not happen."

"When I arrived, it was wooded around Palmerston North. Along the riverbank lived some Maoris who had already buried the battle axe. Several Norwegians had arrived before me (and) they settled on the low lying land south of the river. It was badly drained then and much wetter than now. Often the whole area was flooded and one had to stand on the stumps of the felled trees. It was not a good life and many took to drink."

"How do you like the Maoris?" Olsen asked. "The Maoris are alright. One told them about the Saviour and made them look heavenwards, while (taking) their land from them. No wonder they took to defending themselves."

"Would you like to go back to Norway?" "No! Not anymore, I have a son in Trondheim, but my eight brothers and sisters are all dead. About forty five years ago I became a Christian and had peace in my mind. I am now holding rallies, and selling a little Christian book." Tiller ends his tale in a broad Trondersk accent, Olsen comments. He concludes *"This is Otto Iversen Tiller's life story, it is close to that of many of the migrants, the*

need drove them out, they drifted more or less around the world until they found a haven, or went under." The presence of a son living in Norway was unknown to Otto's New Zealand descendants.

Though Otto's obituary contains many errors, it indicates that he was gold-mining at Bendigo, Australia, and that the bushrangers were a problem at the time. The Bendigo Gold Rush occurred around 1851, and by the mid-1860s, the area had hit an all time low. This was caused by water in the mines, which could not be pumped out, due to disagreements over who should contribute to pumping operations. Many quartz claims had to stop at the water table, although eventually some mines proved profitable following pumping. (Lerk: 28) Otto would have arrived to this situation, but no mention of him was found in a brief search of Bendigo's mining Claim and Lease Registers [1864-April 1865]. Possibly he worked for someone else.

The time of Otto's arrival in New Zealand is difficult to pinpoint. In late 1917, when he enrolled on the Alien Register, he stated that he had been here for 52 years. This indicates he arrived in 1865. Gold had been discovered in the Hokitika area in 1864. As the Victorian goldfields were on the wane, an 'Australian Invasion' of about 4,500 arrived in Hokitika over the nine months from April 1865. (May: 121) The area's population peaked in 1866 at 6,000. This boom began declining in 1867, some years before Otto came to Palmerston North. (McLaughlin: 224, 261)

Otto made his way to Palmerston North around 1874, about the time Richter, Nannestad & Co. built the Palmerston Sawmill, in Albert Street. He had not left gold mining behind entirely. When the 1880 Fitzherbert 'Gold Rush' caused excitement in the region, Otto's opinion was highly valued. The 'Manawatu Times' referred to him as "a gentleman of undoubted integrity and a most experienced quartz miner." (MT 10/11/1880)

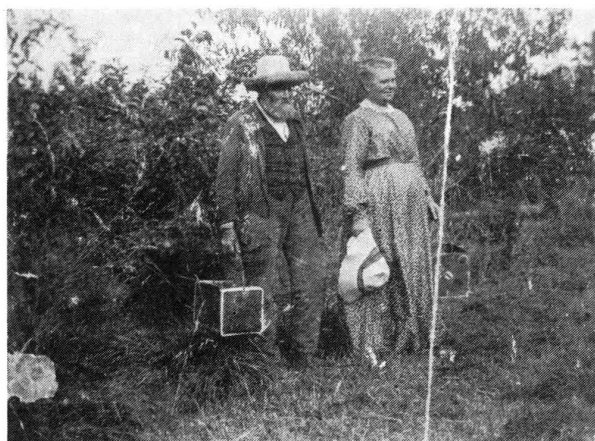
When Richter, Nannestad & Co. evolved into the Palmerston North Sash, Door & Timber Co. Ltd. in 1892, Otto transferred to the new company. He finally retired when the company's factory burnt down on 13 April 1910, during the week of arsons attributed to Pawelka. The 'Evening Standard' made a special mention of Otto that day, as amongst the items burnt in the fire was an old 'Haigh & Haigh planer,' which had been installed in the original Palmerston Sawmill thirty-five years earlier. Otto had been in charge of it the whole time, and it had still been in perfect condition despite its age. The planer had survived the 1879 fire at the sawmill as about six months earlier it had been taken elsewhere. Probably it was one of those installed nearby at the Company's flourmill. (MT 2/4/1879)

Otto's first documented appearance in Palmerston North was on October 9th, 1875 when he married 19 year old Maren Sorenson. The ceremony was presided over by Edward Nielsen, a Norwegian Methodist [Scandinavian Wesleyan] missionary who was ministering throughout the area. The marriage was recorded in the only surviving edition of the Danish language paper 'Skandia', published in Palmerston North on November 18th 1875.

Maren was born in Denmark on 11 March 1856, to Peter and Maren Sorenson. She had arrived in New Zealand in about 1874, when she was 18 - presumably with her parents. Little is known of her family, although her parents are known to have lived at the Tiller home in the early days. She had at least one brother, Jens, born about 1854. On arrival at Wellington, Maren had found employment as governess to the children of Archdeacon Stokes. Two years later she visited Palmerston North and met Otto. They were married "a brief time" later.

Otto is next mentioned seven days later, for his role in the founding of the Methodist Church in the infant town. The meeting of October 16, 1875 included the Scandinavian Trustees Richter, Nannestad, Jenssen and 'Otto Teiller, labourer'. John Richter, Jacob Nannestad, Frits

Jenssen and Otto, were all from the Trondheim area of Norway.



The Tiller farm is remembered for its lovely gardens and a well kept orchard, mainly apple trees. Some particularly huge green ones were nicknamed 'fill-a-baskets'. There were also pears and plums. The orchard spread out on both sides of the house site, the trees on the southern side being younger than those on the northern side. The high ceiling cavity above the three new rooms was used to store the apples. This photo shows Otto and Maren Tiller in their orchard, before 1925. (Thelma Worboys)



The derelict Tiller homestead 'Willow Grove', in the early stages of demolition in 1957, after several years as a hayshed. The children are (from left) Paul, Pamela and Val Burr. In the Tiller family's time, a straight, wide walk-way extended from the front door to the road. It was transformed into an attractive avenue by a border of red Rhododendrons and other shrubs. The backyard was covered with bitumen and various brick paths, laid in a woven pattern, spread around the section. The vegetable gardens were also quite extensive. A netting archway, covered in runner beans and nasturtiums, overlooked a brick path, which the children had to scrub each Saturday. This led to the distinctive, well-remembered toilet with two seats - a normal-sized one, and a smaller, lower one for the children. (Val Burr)

Otto and Maren's first home was in Campbell Street (P.N. Rate Book, 1878-9. Sec. 304, All. 10). The following year the property was in the name of Jens Sorensen, Maren's brother, who was there some years. It is now part of a commercial property, numbered 83-91 Campbell Street. Jens Sorensen later farmed at Kelvin Grove for a while. He died in July 1931, aged 77.

In the mid-1870s Otto had purchased Lot 68 of Section 418, in Roberts Line, Kelvin Grove, receiving title to it in June 1879. Probably around the same time they purchased the neighbouring Lot 67 from Carl Appeldorf (q.v.), who had paid that property off in May 1876. The Tillers now owned about 46 acres.

When the couple bought their farm it was still virgin bush. Transport to and from the village of Palmerston North was by pack and saddle horse. "And many were the exciting incidents (Maren) could relate of those days," her obituary records.

Otto built their new home, on Lot 68, an attractive two-storied colonial cottage, with a full-width verandah, supported by four pairs of verandah-posts, and with a centrally-placed single dormer window protruding through the roof. As the family grew, the house, which they named 'Willow Grove,' grew also. (ES 27/1/1912) A single-storied extension, containing three more bedrooms and a bay window, was added to the southern side. Another small room was added onto the northern side. When the house was demolished, its match-lining, especially that in the front room, was found to consist of 'off-cuts', many of which were only about two feet long. This must also have been a convenient length for a horse rider or a cyclist to carry home from work.

The early years of Otto and Maren's marriage were spent with the Methodist Church in Palmerston North. However, the Minutes of that Church for April 11, 1883, record the resignations of the four Scandinavian Trustees, including Otto. The Brethren faith was growing throughout New Zealand and an enthusiastic pocket of this faith was developing in Rongotea. A member of this Assembly, C.H. Hinman, began preaching throughout the area and on 24 January 1883 preached at Richter, Nannestad & Co.'s sawmill. Soon there were enough converts to form an assembly in Palmerston North and included in its foundation members were Otto and Maren Tiller. There was a very strong Scandinavian following in this newly adopted denomination. Other Scandinavian foundation members were Mr and Mrs William Erenstrom (q.v.) of Whakarongo and Carl Bergersen (q.v.) of Albert Street.

Thereafter the Tiller family were very loyal supporters of the Open Brethren Church. Cottage meetings and Sunday School were held at the Tiller home and, to accommodate these, Otto enlarged the front room to the full width of the original cottage. Later the family drove to Brethren meetings in town in their four wheeled phaeton - an open buggy with a hood that could be raised in inclement weather. Otto's obituary in the Open Brethren magazine 'The Treasury' (1/1/1932: 15) says that Otto's was "a full and clear deliverance" and that for nearly 49 years he continued to attend the Assembly, described as "the most consistent and regular one." While he worked amidst "less Christian souls" than himself, these people held him in very high regard as a Christian person. While "not gifted for ministry publicly, his quiet, personal dealing with (people) told for God."



The Tiller family around 1905. From left: (back row) Lena, John, Ragna, (centre row) Inga, Otto, Maren, Mary, (front row) Edith, William and Agnes. (Thelma Worboys)

The stream that once flowed through the corner of their orchard was nicknamed 'Dipper's Creek', by the locals in the early days, as Otto used to baptise Brethren converts there. Evidence of Maori activities in this stream was also found by a subsequent tenant, Norman Hughes. He ploughed up a number of adzes, a greenstone earring or pendant and a hangi site. These were regarded for years as indicating an old Maori 'workshop' in the bush. Recent inspection indicates that the children of more recent times were not the only ones who had been attracted to the stream's eel population.

Otto and Maren had nine children - six girls and three boys: Mary Elizabeth [1876-1947], Inga Christina [1878-1939], John Christian [1881-1974], Anna O'Lena [registered as Anna Olive, 1883-1945] Ragna [1886-1959], Ivor Edward [1888-1892], Edith Matilda [registered as Edda Matilda, 1890-1966] Agnes [1891-c1968] and William Ernest 'Bill' [1895-1938]. Anna [Steel], Edith [McBean] and

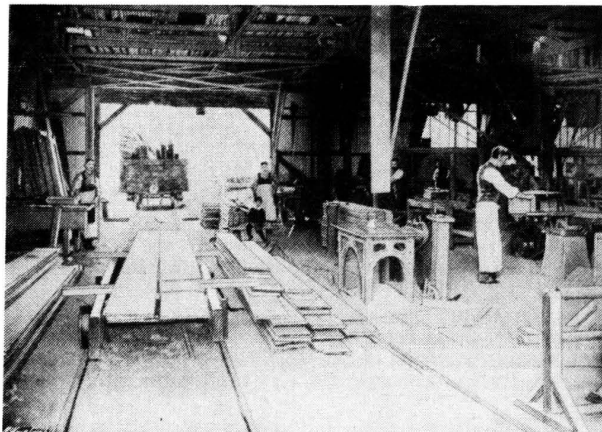
An aerial view of most of the former Tiller farm about 1968 shows the modern house [now 125 Roberts Line] built about 1957 on the site of the earlier house. Part of the old orchard remains, while 'Dippers Creek' bed - the former Maori eeling site - is under the macrocarpa trees behind the extreme right power pole. The two oak trees are visible amongst the macrocarpa trees on the left of the house, the larger and most visible one being the one felled in 1991. The newly-established Kelvin Grove subdivision is in the background, while the Burr-Dahlstrom farm is on the left. These Scandinavian Block farms extended back almost to the new subdivision, while the side boundaries are clearly defined by fences. (Vera L. McLennan-Boman)



Bill remained in Palmerston North. Bill was a 'Father Christmas' for some years, at what is now Farmers Trading Company's Cave. The Steel family owned the Pink Cake Shop, which used to be in the Square, while Edith McBean's husband was a tailor in Main Street. As with so many families, the Tillers were visited by sadness. Four year old Ivor died from a bowel obstruction on 18 September 1892, after two days of illness. His father, along with Otto Westerholm (q.v.), and a Mr Longman, together officiated at his funeral. Ivor is buried in what is now an unmarked grave in the Public Reserve at Terrace End Cemetery.

The children attended Stoney Creek School, and then the much closer Kelvin Grove School after it opened in 1893. The earliest record of Kelvin Grove School Committee members indicates that Otto was a member in 1898.

As Otto continued cycling over the metal roads to work each day, the womenfolk largely did the day-to-day running of the farm. Inga's daughter, Ruth Adams, recalls that her mother, as one of the older children, had to work very hard. Once a week she had to walk into town to sell their muslin-wrapped butter for 6d per pound. In the 1890s Inga walked in the long wet grass across the back paddock to do the



Otto Tiller's distinctive beard makes him easily recognisable inside Palmerston North Sash, Door & Timber Company's factory, in Albert Street. This c1896 photo appeared in the Company's contribution to Volume One of 'Cyclopedia of New Zealand', in 1897.

washing for the Gordon family, whose farm-site includes the present Karamea Crescent. This job had to be done outside and in later years she became crippled with arthritis, possibly brought on by this type of work. She was paid 2/- per week, with which she bought her trousseau, much of which was made of calico and embroidered cotton lace.

Ruth, who fondly remembers holidays at her grandparents' home, recalls that her grandfather was a dear old 'rotund' gentleman, with a big beard, while her grandmother was a tall, well built, 'serious' but sweet lady. She also recalls Otto's favourite breakfast, a plate of porridge - with a poached egg on top - and wonders how he could enjoy it!

Following Otto's retirement in 1910, he turned to 'full-time' farming. He was also finally naturalised on 9 November 1911, aged 68. In 1917 Otto described himself as a market gardener.

Otto and Maren remained at the farm until 1925, although by then they were leasing the bulk of it to other farmers. The farm buildings were quite dilapidated by then. That year the farm was sold and they moved to 11 Campbell Street, now 90 Campbell Street. This was almost opposite their original home site. Both houses are long gone.

In 1929 Orjan Olsen described the former goldminer, sawmill labourer, farmer and market gardener, as a robust man of 85, without a grey hair in his head. Otto died on 13

December 1931, aged 88 years. Maren survived her husband by a further 17 months, until her death at the Northcote Private Hospital on 21 May 1933, aged 77 years. At the time of her death, the couple had, in addition to their own 8 surviving children, 26 grandchildren and 10 great grandchildren. They are buried together at Terrace End Cemetery.

Almost the only signs of the Tiller family left at their old farm are a few of their old fruit trees and an oak tree they planted early this century. Until 1991 there was another far larger oak tree. Unfortunately its life was cut short by a would-be wood chopper - unable to distinguish an oak tree from a macrocarpa and a deciduous tree from a dead tree! The remaining tree is to be preserved in a small reserve.

On 31 July 1993, Archibald Iverson 'Ivan' Tiller, the only son of Bill, died at Palmerston North. His Will requested that the Manawatu Museum select what they wanted from his Estate. Accordingly they took possession of a considerable quantity of furnishings, papers and photographs relating to the family. This is to be known as the 'Archibald Tiller Estate.'

(Family sources: Ruth Adams, Tawa; Thelma Worboys, Palmerston North; Gillian Diprose, R.D.3, Cambridge. Also neighbours: L.S. Burr and V.L. McL. Boman, nee Burr.)

OTTO WESTERHOLM and GERDA ELIZABETH BLIXT

Little is known of Otto Westerholm, but his right to his own story comes from his appearance in three different family stories in this book:- the Blixts, the Jepsens and the Tillers.

Otto was born about 1851-2, to a farming couple, Carl and Johanna Louisa Westerholm of Turku, Finland. Turku was known in Swedish as Abo. Turku, which translates as 'trade', was a former capital of the variously Danish or Swedish province of Finland. It had developed from a small trading post on the river Aura into the most important city in Finland. However this status was lost to Helsinki in 1812, to suit the Russian overlords who then controlled the country. After centuries of Swedish rule the majority of the city's population was Swedish-speaking. (Nicol: 24, 125-7)

Otto arrived in New Zealand about 1874, according to his death certificate, with his first known appearance in Palmerston North being in the 'Manawatu Times' of 3 July 1880. At that time, he and James [Jens] Christensen had written to the paper complaining about unfairnesses with the tendering system then in vogue for labouring jobs. The habit was then to accept the lowest tender, regardless of other considerations. Apparently "well-to-do" farmers seeking 'off-farm' employment to obtain a cash income were undercutting labourers. "In all truth wages are low enough at present - the ruling prices barely enable labouring men to get their tucker, without any margin whatsoever."

On 5 November 1881 Otto, aged 29, married 18 year old Gerda Elizabeth Blixt, oldest daughter of Lars Peter and Severina Blixt. [Gerda pronounced 'Yarda'] She had been born in Halmstad, Halland, Sweden on 8 April 1863, and had arrived with her parents on the *England* in 1871.

Gerda had previously worked in the home of David Rowland and family, of Jackeytown Road, Tiakitahuna. Rowland, who settled his land in 1867, was a prominent early grower of potatoes in the Karere area. He also had the earliest Romney stud flock of sheep in the district. (Petersen, 1973: 63) Gerda later spoke of how, when David Rowland drove off into town, she would wave a tea towel on the verandah. On seeing this pre-arranged signal, all the farmworkers would drop what they were doing and head for the house. They would then spend the day playing cards, while Gerda made scones and refreshments for them. When she noticed Rowland senior returning, all the work-

ers would rush back to their earlier tasks and carry on as if they had been working all day. Gerda had apparently been quite keen on one of the Rowland boys, but nothing had come of it.

From about 1883, Otto and Gerda lived at what is now 48 Albert Street. Probably Otto worked for Richter, Nannestad & Co., which was near the family home.

The couple had at least six children, the births of four being recorded in the christening records at All Saints Church, Palmerston North. The oldest was their daughter Severina Elizabeth, called 'Beth', born in 1881 and no doubt named after Gerda's mother. Oscar Nicolai "Waimamornan" was born to the couple on 16 February 1886. Clara Victoria arrived on 28 September 1887, but died in October 1888, when she was thirteen months old. Six weeks later came Sydney Cornelius on 17 December 1888, then Herbert Alexander on 28 September 1890. The youngest, Norman Bernard Otto, was registered in the spring of 1894.

Otto was naturalised at Palmerston North on 31 October 1890, aged 39 years and described as a labourer. His daughter, Beth, told her family that Otto had a knitting mill, although this may have been more of a cottage industry. She had to knit two pairs of socks each day and was paid 1d per pair. Family tradition says that this business was in some way associated with the Manawatu Knitting Mills, although it does not feature in that company's known pedigree, which traces to a Mr J. Stubbs who commenced business in 1884. (Petersen, 1973: 199) Gerda sold the business following Otto's death, and possibly Stubbs was the buyer, although he did not take their land over, according to the rates books. Otto had also owned Section 226 of the Hokowhitu Block [Ruahine Street], for some years. This had improvements valued at £40 on it in the 1897 Valuation Roll, which may have represented a small cottage or shed.

In 1892, Otto jointly officiated at the funeral of Ivor Tiller, the four year old son of his friend and workmate, Otto Tiller. He may have had an involvement with the Open Brethren, the faith which Otto Tiller followed devoutly by that time.

During 1893 Gerda was one of the local women who signed the Women's Suffrage Petition.

On 23 May 1899, Otto, who had worked as a yardman for Palmerston North Sash, Door & Co. [formerly part of Richter, Nannestad & Co.], died from heart disease, aged 47 years and was buried at Terrace End Cemetery. He was accorded respect by his former employers when they acknowledged his passing in the Company's Minutes of June 8th, their only employee to be so honoured. Gerda sold their Ruahine Street property in 1899 and their Albert Street home in 1900.

Gerda married William 'Bill' Galloway, a chef, at Wellington on 2 March 1907 and the couple had a son, Stanley. She often travelled to Feilding to visit her daughter, Beth. Beth's daughter, Muriel Dougherty, remembers her grandmother well, recalling her long black dresses and her fear of missing the train home. Gerda, Beth, and the latter's three daughters, would make the journey from Beth's home to the Feilding Railway Station, at 12 am, in order to be sure they were there when the train to Wellington pulled out - 2 hours and 45 minutes later! Gerda died in Wellington on 18 April 1944, survived by four children.

Oscar became a cabinet maker and did quite well for himself, living in Palmerston North and Wellington at different times. He did not marry and eventually died in Palmerston North. Sydney Cornelius went on a trip overseas and was never heard from again. Herbert, who was known to his cousin, Ian Blixt, as 'Axel', served in the First World War, and was an architect in Napier. He and his family suffered losses in the 1931 Napier Earthquake. However, his building designs showed a good survival rate and he became a popular designer of the replacement buildings. The family later moved to Australia, but visited relatives in the Manawatu from time to time. The youngest son, Norman, who had previously been a locomotive driver, put his age up to get into the Army early in the First World War. He was only in the war zone three months, when he was killed. His great nephew, Lou Foss, still has his 'Great War 1914-1918' medal. Stanley Galloway was last heard of, by Muriel, as a steward on a ship.

Beth had married Frederick Jepsen, son of Jorgen and Karen Jepsen of Bunnythorpe. (q.v.) The couple had three daughters, Muriel, Grace [Lou's mother] and Muriel, before Fred went to fight in France in the First World War, where he suffered minor wounds. When he returned, he told Beth that he did not wish to resume their married life together, although they never divorced. He settled in Stratford.

Beth supported her children by extremely hard work, juggling different jobs at the same time. She and her three daughters lived in rented homes in Feilding, first in Denbigh Street, then in Queen Street. She did housework for others, and also cleaned offices. Muriel recalls that the arrival of maintenance money was like Christmas. The cupboards were filled with necessities to await the next payment - possibly many weeks away. After a difficult life, Beth died in Wellington in about 1959, after some years of illness.

(Family source:- Muriel Dougherty, Feilding; Lou Foss, Palmerston North; Ian Blixt, Ashhurst; Eunice Jepsen, Palmerston North. Also Severina's birth certificate 1881.)



Lydia Christensen-Dahlstrom (left), aged 17, and her friend, Barbara Fafieta, aged 14, pose for an itinerant photographer in the Dahlstroms' orchard, Roberts Line, in 1898. Lydia had borrowed "her" bike from the neighbour, Otto Tiller (q.v.). Barbara's family had arrived from Bohemia, Prussia, on the Terpsichore in 1876 and had settled in James Line (Vera McLennan-Boman)

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RICHTER, NANNESTAD & COMPANY: SAWMILLERS & FLOURMILLERS

Throughout the preparation of this book, the intention was to include the story of the large sawmilling and flourmilling company, Richter, Nannestad & Company. However, as the story of the company and its successors unfolded, its significance in Palmerston North, Manawatu, and also in the Southern Hawkes Bay moved it from an interesting little topic to something of real importance. Thus, aided by a substantial Minute book spanning 22 years, the story became too large and too important to compress into the space available in this book. As a business history, it also required a very different format. Operating independently of the biographies and immigration stories being covered in this book, the story is given freedom to develop in both a social and a technical sense. It is planned therefore, that the story of this company will in due course become 'Skandia III'. Despite this, as the Company is repeatedly mentioned throughout the family stories in this book, an insight into its activities is required.

Richter, Nannestad & Co. was formed in Palmerston North in 1872, by three young men from well-to-do families who were born in the Trondheim area of Norway. Jacob Nannestad and Frits Jenssen emigrated together, arriving in New Zealand in late 1867. After operating a flaxmill in the Auckland area, they were drawn to the Manawatu by the flax industry, which had begun in Foxton in 1869. They were certainly in the Palmerston North area by 1871, as the *Celaeno* and *England* immigrants described their resentment when a "stranger" - Frits Jenssen - was given access to an area of bush they wanted. Jenssen was in fact temporarily employed as an engineer on the Public Works in the district.

The third partner, John Richter [whose brother was later Prime Minister of Norway], arrived in New Zealand in 1868 and reached Palmerston North in 1872. At that time the sawmilling company, Richter, Nannestad & Co., was born, with its first sawmill being established at Terrace End. In 1874 this sawmill was relocated to Albert Street, on the strip of land now between Melody's New World Supermarket and Grey Street. It was at first known as the 'Norwegian Sawmill' [1875], but by the late 1870s, it became better known as the 'Palmerston Sawmill'.

After the demise of the Public Works in the mid-1870s, Richter, Nannestad & Co. [abbreviation - RN&Co.] was the major employer in the town. Many new-arrivals found their first employment in one of its mills, working in its bush or developing the newly-cleared forest floor into farmland for the company to utilise.

Can you identify any of these men in this staff portrait of Palmerston North Sash, Door & Timber Company's directors and staff, taken between 1902 and 1904? Identified from other photos are (from left):- FRONT ROW: none known; SECOND ROW: Olaf Moller [manager], uncertain, H.S. Fitzherbert [director], George Howe [chairman], uncertain, Capt. J. Mowlem [director], Bill Lewis [later became manager]. The two unidentified men will be the remaining directors, W.P. Smith and R.S. Barry; THIRD ROW, STANDING ON GROUND: ?, Charlie Erenstrom, probably a Kuhlze family member, Otto Tiller, rest unknown; FOURTH ROW: ?, probably August Rosanoski, ?, ?, ?, maybe Fred Kuhlze; FIFTH ROW: all unknown. (Archibald Tiller Collection, Manawatu Museum)



In 1877 the company built the Trondheim Sawmill on 700 acres which the partners owned near Bunnythorpe, in what is now Campbell Road, and immediately north of what became Nannestad's Line. Over the years land the company owned, including the Trondheim Sawmill land, was fenced and converted into farmland for eventual sale at a significant profit. Some of the land the company leased is known to have included development clauses along the same lines.

In 1879 the company owned 600 acres of Terrace End and Roslyn, extending westwards from Vogel Street, as far as North Street. The same year they were leasing 900 acres in Milson and the Tutaki Road area. This comprises much of the present Papaioea Ward. In about 1878 they purchased the existing Hokowhitu Sawmill, sited near Stewart Crescent. This mill was cutting timber on the Hokowhitu Native Reserve and the previous ownership had clear associations with the Reserve's Rangitane owners. The company sold the Hokowhitu Sawmill plant [which became Adsett's Sawmill at Taonui] and then milled the Reserve, presumably with the nearby Palmerston Sawmill. In the early 1890s the three partners, with one Frank Pearce Snow, who had a 50% share, purchased most of the Hokowhitu Native Reserve and then subdivided it. This Reserve covered much of the present Hokowhitu Ward. It is clear therefore, that the company milled a very significant portion of Palmerston North.

In 1878 RN&Co. established the Manawatu Flourmill, which continues to the present day as Champion Flourmills-Manawatu, in Tremaine Avenue. This timely diversification saw the owners preparing their company for life without native timber. Wheat provided local farmers with a badly needed crop they could produce to stand a train or boat journey to the markets of New Zealand, although supplying local needs was its initial goal. The flourmill was built next to the Palmerston Sawmill, on the site now occupied by Melody's New World Supermarket.

The appearance of the flourmill in Palmerston North coincided with the opening of the Palmerston North-Wanganui railway. This was only one of the major changes associated with this company, which coincided with the development of the railway network. The railways were its lifeline to its markets.

The company suffered its share of setbacks, including the burning down of the Palmerston Sawmill in 1879, possibly due to sparks from the chimney of the flourmill next door. It was soon rebuilt however. At this same time, attempts were being made to sell the company, as John Richter wished to return to Norway; however neither of these things eventuated.

By the mid-1880s, Manawatu sawmillers were looking to the Southern Hawkes Bay as the new source of timber, and so RN&Co. leased a huge area of bush from the Rangitane owners in that area. It opened a sawmill at Tahoraiti in late 1885, soon after the Napier railway reached that point. Another sawmill opened at Makotuku in about 1886 and a timberyard was established in Napier.

Also in late 1885, Frits Jenssen purchased the Kairanga Native Reserve from the Rangitane, no doubt on behalf of the partnership. The land is now the Linton Military Camp site. Although this land was close to the Wellington-Manawatu Railway, opened in 1886, RN&Co. apparently favoured the Southern Hawkes Bay, and sold the Linton land after 15 months.

Trondheim Sawmill closed in 1887, the land then becoming the Campbell family's 'Bute Farm'. By about 1890 the millable bush the company held on the north-east side of Palmerston North, and in the Hokowhitu Native Reserve, was at an end. The time had come to divide up the company. As a result, such the assets in the Southern Hawkes Bay became the Dannevirke-based 'Hawkes Bay Timber Company' [abbreviation - HBTCo.], which almost certainly included other partners. Hawkes Bay Timber (Pastoral) Co. was also formed to develop the Maori-owned

land into farmland. This land was eventually purchased by the Crown during HBTCo.'s tenancy.

When the railway through the Manawatu Gorge opened in 1891, the time was considered right to sell the company's redundant Palmerston North sawmilling plant and property. As a result, the publicly-owned 'Palmerston North Sash, Door & Timber Company' [abbreviation - PNSTDCo.] was formed in 1892, on the site of the old Palmerston Sawmill. The purchase included W.L.Luxford's Timber Yard in Church Street, opposite the Central Police Station. This was later closed and the timber yard moved to the land in Albert Street, between the flourmill site and Main Street.

These two 'offspring' timber companies ran more-or-less interconnected lives thereafter. There was certainly a sharing of Directors and also blood-ties, especially in the case of the Nannestad-Moller family. Much of the basic history of HBTCo., managed until 1909 by Frits Jenssen, is revealed in the pages of PNSTDCo.'s Minute Book. The aim of HBTCo. had been to use PNSTDCo. as an outlet for its timber. However, the need to make a profit on the already 'value-added' timber soon saw the struggling PNSTDCo. forced to open its own mills. HBTCo. remained noticeably quick to offer blocks of its leasehold land to its 'sister' company whenever new bush was needed.

The flourmill [managed by John Richter] remained under the original name of Richter, Nannestad & Company. The management of the company was extremely innovative. In 1892, the flourmill became the first commercial user of electricity in Palmerston North. It had a new owner in early 1902, at a time when its founders were struggling financially, and Richter was ailing.

Participants in the story were of a variety of nationalities and played a variety of roles. One who took a 'variety of roles' to new heights was Olaf Moller, Danish brother-in-law of Jacob Nannestad. He served as accountant, company secretary, and then manager [at the same time!] of PNSTDCo., throughout most of its life. Another, who permeates the story after 1894, was the Woodville-born entrepreneur, sawmill contractor and would-be Mayor of Dannevirke, William Francis 'Frank' Greenaway. Greenaway - the 'bad boy' in some eyes - skipped the country in 1904 abandoning PNSTDCo.'s mill and his debts, was bankrupted by that company in 1909 [while apparently in Texas, U.S.A.] and was then made the manager of HBTCo. the same year! Most important to the history, and downfall, of PNSTDCo. was hotelier and, by then, major shareholder, George Howe, whose death in 1905 also sounded the death knell of the company. It went into receivership in 1909, but continued operating until the factory in Palmerston North was mysteriously burnt down in 1910, during Pawelka's well-known week of fires. Later that year, Bill Lewis, the last manager, and the Kuhtze [Coutts] brothers, became partners in Lewis & Coutts' Dominion Sash & Door Factory, on the corner of Church and Cook Streets.

Not only were the men involved in the companies of interest, but so were their wives. Danish-born Anna Nannestad, wife of Jacob, was one of the women who signed the Women's Franchise Petition in 1893. Her Trondheim-born mother, Marie Christine Moller, who spent her latter years in Palmerston North, was a well-known professional singer, pianist and organist in New Zealand. They, and Harriette Richter, wife of John, were also visible in community affairs, as might be expected of women in their position. These included fund raising activities for the new Palmerston North Hospital, in the early 1890s. Emma Jenssen, wife of Frits, who died in 1887, was the third Mayoress of Palmerston North.

Jacob Nannestad's younger brother, Anton, a former seaman, married Emily Sexton at Trondheim Sawmill, which Anton managed, and where Emily's father apparently also worked. After some years at Trondheim Sawmill and a short time at the Makotuku Sawmill, Anton was blinded by cataracts. The couple, with Emily having to

take a prominent role, then took over a grocery business in Wellington, and later a hotel. Anna Nannestad, the one-time lady of what is now 'Caccia Birch House', had also spent the early years of her marriage at a sawmill - in her case, the Tahoraiti Sawmill, which Jacob then managed. In later years, following Jacob's financial problems (and then his death in 1913), she and her sister, Nicoline Moller, owned and operated the 'Tivoli' restaurant, in Queen Street, Auckland. Hansine Jenssen, widow of Frits' brother Thorvald, who had died at Stoney Creek in 1893, brought up her own large family, and also Frits' daughters, although mainly in Norway.

Many readers will have forebears who were involved in some way with these companies and all are of interest to the writer. Photos are another source of interest. Sawmills operated by them were:- RICHTER, NANNESTAD & Co.:- Palmerston Sawmill, Hokowhitu Sawmill, Trondheim Sawmill, Tahoraiti Sawmill and sawmill 'A' at Makotuku. As HAWKES BAY TIMBER Co. they still had Tahoraiti Sawmill and Makotuku Sawmill 'A'. By 1896 there was a sawmill [or timber yard] in

Dannevirke [probably High Street, opposite the Junction Hotel], and a second one [sawmill 'B'] at Makotuku, also Puketitiri Sawmill [1896-1912]. There may have been more mills under their ownership, while other companies, including the Dannevirke Sawmilling Company, sub-leased their bush. PALMERSTON NORTH SASH, DOOR & TIMBER Co. had Matahiwi Sawmill at Waiarua [bought from Norman Campbell in 1894-1900], Hawkes Bay Sawmill at Oringi [1896-1900], Matamau Sawmill [1900-sold to Gammon & Co. 1905], Kiritaki Sawmill [1902-1906] and Piripiri Sawmill on what is now George Searle's property, Umutoi (started 1905-sold to become Foot's Sawmill 1909).

Other related topics being researched are the Palmerston North houses which later became WILTSHIRE MATERNITY HOSPITAL, Albert Street, and LASSWADE PRIVATE HOSPITAL [Broadway Avenue], which were once the homes of the Jenssen and Nannestad families. The former Richter house and the well-known 'Caccia Birch House' [where the Scandinavian Club now meets] still survive. I can be contacted c/- Scandinavian Club of Manawatu, P.O. Box 84, Palmerston North. - Val Burr.



Canvas kit bags being manufactured for the Defence Department at Chas. Dahl's factory during the First World War. Note the year "1914" printed on the bags. Clearly awarding a Defence Department contract to a manufacturer who was of Danish descent was not regarded as a problem in 1914. By 1917, public opinion may have interfered with this process. See The section on the Registration of Aliens Act of that year. The man on the right is the factory foreman Percival A. Milverton. (Bob Milverton, Palmerston North)

13 SOME GLIMPSES INTO RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

The upper Manawatu began its association with Scandinavian religions in rather a dramatic way - with the arrival of a Lutheran Bishop. Bishop Ditlev Gothard Monrad, who was also the recently-dismissed Danish Prime Minister, arrived with his family in 1866. Although he returned to Denmark in 1869, members of his family remained. The Monrad family, especially the son, Viggo, was to play a key role in Lutheran affairs in the district and also in the wider Scandinavian community.

The Scandinavian settlers who followed were mainly Lutheran, although some Norwegians were Scandinavian Wesleyans. The latter were the same as English Methodists, a denomination already well represented in New Zealand. Many Lutherans attached themselves to the stronger Scandinavian Wesleyan congregations - at least until the arrival of Lutheran pastors.

Mads Christensen, Palmerston North's Lutheran pastor from 1894 to 1927, described the Danish [and other Scandinavian] immigrants and their religious practices. He said these people came from countries where "the State controlled the Church and where religion was, as it were, Law. People had to have a church affiliation. (When they came to New Zealand) everything was different. Religion was something about which people had to please themselves." (M. Christensen: 5)

This new-found freedom saw many people turn away from the traditional religion. Some joined new religious groupings, others became indifferent or even quite anti-religious. Clearly there was scope for controversy on religious matters.

BEGINNINGS - Palmerston North's first Scandinavian language service was held on 25 February 1872. The venue, in present-day Coleman Place, was a hut rather pretentiously called the 'Survey Office'. Officiating was the Reverend Abraham Honore, then of Marton. (WI 7/3/1872) A Dane of French Huguenot descent, Honore came to New Zealand in 1848 to minister to the Maori, under the auspices of the North German Missionary Society. When this organisation pulled out of New Zealand, they asked the Presbyterian Church to ordain Honore as a Presbyterian minister. This was done at Riverton in March 1869. In 1871, Honore moved to the Rangitikei where he continued to minister to the Maori, but with little success. (Elder: 93-4, 413; McEldowney: 67) Despite his adopted faith and his main work being done amongst the Maori, the Scandinavian community developed considerable respect for Honore. He did the rounds of the Scandinavian settlements when he could, but these infrequent visits could not satisfy the needs of the new settlers. (G.C. Petersen [1956]: 96-7)

SCANDINAVIAN WESLEYANISM had grown from the teachings of a young Norwegian sailor who converted to Methodism in Boston, U.S.A., in 1849. He later organised the first Methodist Church in Sarpsborg, Norway in 1856. As Lutheranism was the State religion, with State funding, other sects which developed there, including Wesleyanism, tended to be impoverished. Ironically, the reverse awaited them in New Zealand where the Lutherans struggled financially.

The Methodists were the first to cater to the Scandinavian immigrants. In mid-1874, Edward [or Edvard] Nielsen, a Wesleyan lay preacher, arrived in Auckland. Born in Rakkestad, Norway in 1842, he had been working in Sor-Odal, a parish where a number of the Norwegian immigrants originated. In 1875, he was appointed 'Home

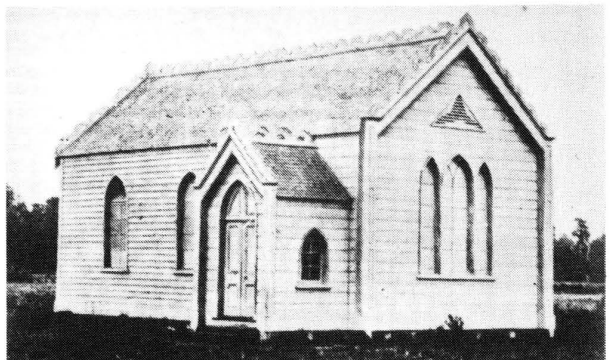
Missionary in the Wellington District, to the Scandinavian Mission,' and was based in Palmerston North. Soon he had established 16 preaching places, with as many as 600 people attending his services. Many of these were Lutherans, grateful to understand his words if not necessarily his beliefs.

When the decision was made to build a chapel in Palmerston North, the membership of prominent citizens was significant. This key meeting, in January 1875, was held at the home of Norwegian sawmill-owners, John Richter, Jacob Nannestad and Frits Jenssen. They agreed to supply the timber, and did not expect payment immediately. The chapel, built near the sawmill, was completed by mid-1875. Those appointed its Trustees included Richter, Nannestad, Jenssen and also Otto Tiller (q.v.), an employee of the other three.

By late 1877, Edward Nielsen's circuit extended from Wellington to Wanganui, whilst he also visited Napier and the Wairarapa. In 1878 he moved to Norsewood. In 1881 he was ordained. (Laurenson:6; Troseid: 171)

Edward Christoffersen arrived in Palmerston North in 1880, moving into a Featherston Street cottage owned by Nielsen. He conducted services either from this cottage, the chapel in Broad Street, or sometimes at Stoney Creek [probably at the school, where other denominations also held services]. Rev. Otto Christoffersen followed, and was preaching in the town in 1883. (MT 19/10/1883) The two Christoffersens were not brothers. (Laurenson: 14)

In late 1882, during Frits Jenssen's mayoralty, the decision was made to build a Methodist Church alongside the chapel. However, the aforementioned Scandinavian Trustees were not to be involved this time, the resignations of all four being formally accepted on 11 April 1883. Grigg (p. 22) thought that the Scandinavian community had turned to a church where their native language was used, and that this was centered around Stoney Creek. The reality was not so straight forward, as will become evident.



Palmerston North's first Methodist Church, built in 1875 on the site of the present 'Wesley-Broadway' church in Broadway Avenue. Note the close proximity of the bush, probably about where Ferguson Street now is. Built to the specifications of J.E. Perrin, a partner in the building firm of Meyrick, Perrin & Oakley, which built the town's first two Anglican churches [1875 and 1882], the roof-tops and gable-ends of this church are decorated in a style possibly influenced by Norway's medieval stave churches. Other wooden churches built around that time, including the aforementioned Anglican churches, originally had similar decorations, but only along their roof-tops. (Palmerston North Public Library)

THE LUTHERANS comprised Scandinavian and German settlers. German Lutheran missionaries had been in New Zealand for many years and some had later become pastors to the German community. The Scandinavian Lutherans began asserting themselves following the arrival of Pastor Georg Sass, a Dane, in 1878. He settled at Norsewood, which he considered central to his wide-ranging flock. Possibly this is why Rev. Edward Nielsen also moved to Norsewood the same year. Many Lutherans, who had joined Methodist congregations for want of choice, returned to the Lutheran fold, causing some Methodists to become "very bitter, and ... vehemently opposed" to the Lutheran Church. (M. Christensen: 13) In addition to the Methodists, the free thinking organisations, alcohol and dancing also complicated Sass' work. (D. Christensen: 38)

Palmerston North's cash-strapped Lutheran congregation met in private homes, halls and other churches - a far cry from their privileged position in their homelands. The 'Times' of 3 January 1880 advertised Sass' Scandinavian language services at the local Presbyterian Church [built 1878]. Pastor Sass was to complain that the Danes were accustomed to having automatic access to their church in Denmark, and so were unwilling to support it financially when they emigrated to foreign countries. (D. Christensen: 37) In New Zealand at that time though, even if the spirit was willing, the pocket probably was not.

In answer to Sass' request for assistance, the Norwegian-born Christoffer Gaustad arrived in Palmerston North in July 1880. (MT28/7/1880) Gaustad was from Trondheim, while his wife was from Romerike where a number of the immigrants had originated. (Lyng:137) The Evangelical Lutheran Emaus Congregation was formed in Palmerston North around the same time, with the first church being built in 1882.

Soon a rift developed between Pastor Gaustad and Pastor Sass. The financial support the New Zealand cause received from the Danish Home Mission after 1883 was a direct result of Sass' lobbying. When the Home Mission treated Sass as the leader of this team of two, Gaustad, the older and more experienced, resented the apparent slight. (D. Christensen: 37) This rift saw the Norwegian portion of the congregation supporting Gaustad while the Danes supported Sass. Gaustad was eventually dismissed and several families withdrew from the congregation in sympathy. Sass was left to cope alone.

Gaustad had suffered a number of misfortunes in 1884 and early 1885, including having his horse fall and roll on him at Karere in June 1884, although no bones were broken. Limited finances were a major cause of Gaustad's problems. As such, in August 1884, an impressive Lutheran Concert was held as a benefit for him. [see S.V. Langkjer] In November his house was nearly burnt down and a few days later he fell ill, apparently in an epidemic. Mrs Gaustad and many others were also stricken. At the height of his prolonged illness, Gaustad began work as a cooper from the Lutheran Manse in Domain Street. This sheds more light on his financial state. When Olga Monrad died on November 28th, Gaustad was too ill to conduct her funeral service so Rev. Honore took his place. In the latter part of 1886, Gaustad retired to Halcombe where he owned a small farm, and thereafter he ministered to the Halcombe congregation. (MT 7/6/1884, 8/11/1884; ES 15,26,29/11/1884, 1/12/1884, 2/1/1885, 13/5/1886, 5/6/1886, 7/6/1886; B. Petersen: 41)

Today the Scandinavian Club of Manawatu maintains an informal link with St. Luke's Lutheran Church, Palmerston North, including participating in an annual combined service.

THE BRETHREN - On the evening of 24 January 1883, the Open Brethren preacher, C.H. Hinman, of Rongotea, preached for the first time. This meeting was held in an old barn owned by Richter, Nannestad & Co., and was near their sawmill. This barn had also served as a dance hall.



"Off to a Sunday School picnic", is the caption under the Tiller family's photo of Palmerston North's second Open Brethren Gospel Hall - now 548 Main Street. Built in late 1896 and capable of holding about 400 people, this hall served the Open Brethren Church until 1957. (F. Ferguson: 61-2) After uses since then ranging from a warehouse to a car wrecker's workshop, it has recently been leased by the furniture building and restoration firm, Lombard Stripping & Polishing. A large roller door replaces its original doorway, while, other than the floor, the interior is probably much as it was in 1957. (Thelma Worboys)

Hinman's followers increased rapidly, a significant number being Scandinavian. Amongst those who converted at this early stage were the Erenstrom, Bergersen and Tiller families. Otto Tiller (q.v.) resigned his position in the Methodist Church soon after.

The first Brethren assemblies were held in a cottage in Albert Street, possibly the Bergersen home. In 1885, they built their first Gospel Hall in Main Street, near the former site of Martin's Foundry [now BP-Main Street]. Later, this hall was converted into a house. ('The Treasury', 1/7/1933: 111; MT 13/10/1883; F. Ferguson: 61-2. See also Peter Lineham's 'There We Found Brethren' [Palmerston North, 1977]).

THE ANGLICANS - While Tiller joined the Open Brethren, his fellow Methodist Trustees, the sawmill owners, turned to the Anglican Church. Although only a small number of local Scandinavians appear to have become Anglicans, when All Saints Church [the town's second Anglican church on the present site] opened in February 1882, its first service included two prayers in "Scandinavian", and intercessions and a hymn in German. By this time, Richter had an English wife, whose sisters also married into successful 'English' families in the district. Anton Nannestad married an English girl at Trondheim Sawmill in May 1882, with the vicar of All Saints Church presiding. Jenssen found himself an English mayoress, whom he married at the new church in October 1882. Jacob Nannestad and the Danish-born Anna Moller, married there in 1885.

In addition to All Saints, they also became involved in Anglican matters at Terrace End. In November 1882, an Anglican Sunday School was opened diagonally opposite Richter, Nannestad & Co.'s flourmill, on the Albert Street-Broad Street intersection [now a carpark]. St. Peter's Mission Church, at Terrace End, was opened in August 1884 on the same site.

Like the other Scandinavians, Richter, Jenssen and especially the Nannestad brothers had Lutheran backgrounds. Thus their bonds with the Scandinavian Wesleyans may have been quite slight. In addition to their new families, many of their new acquaintances were also English. It may also have been more socially acceptable and more comfortable in terms of ritual for them to belong to the Anglican church. (Wigglesworth: 11; MT 27/6/1884; All Saints christening, marriage and funeral records)

ADJUSTMENTS - Clearly, some quite major social adjustments took place as the immigrants realised the Church was no longer administering their lives. One change involved the registration of births. As New Zealand had no State Church to collect this information, the Government appointed registrars, but problems remained. In May 1878, a Mr Kruffmans appeared in the local Resident Magistrate's Court charged with failing to register his baby. He had not known of the Law relating to births, and his case was apparently the third of its type around that time. (MT25/5/1878) Illiteracy, at least in English, may also have played a role in such oversights.

FREE THOUGHT - On the evening of Saturday, 8 October 1881, Viggo Monrad gave a lecture, in Danish, at the Palmerston North Town Hall. His subject was 'Free Thought' - meaning the agnostic movement which was then at its peak. The proceeds were to help build the Lutheran church. Although the lecture was considered very good, attendance was poor. A few weeks later an anonymous letter appeared in the 'Times', responding to this lecture. Rev. Christensen's manuscript confirms a number of the comments made, if not sharing the same opinions:

"We learn that there has been a meeting amongst the Lutherans in Palmerston, subject, 'Free Thought', with the intention of erecting a Church in this place. My thought is free also. I speak through experience I have had in our Lutheran Church in late days. It is strange that both Norsewood and Mauriceville have their churches built and completed, free from debt, and had money besides when the church was opened. Is it not because they are connected with the English [Methodist] Church or conference?"

I see that both we and our ministers have been in the habit of looking upon the English ruling with a suspicious view, owing to our traditions and foolishness, and all that our so-called Lutheran Ministers have done in the way to procure money from the English, have always been a failure when it has been held. Lectures in the English language the Scandinavians have always got the outlay of it themselves, and I don't believe the English friends we have got to deal with, is any more ignorant of religious doctrine, than many of our countrymen. (Not to talk of America, for there are thousands of Scandinavians that have their religious worship together with the English church.) And there are churches in Scandinavia for seamen and travellers, built and supported by the English. I heard from Napier that the number of Englishmen that attended the lecture on 'India' did not exceed more than one or two, and in Palmerston it was not many more than that stayed till the end of the same lecture. (1)

What will be the end of all this church quarrel amongst the Scandinavians? (for in a manner of speaking, ever since these so-called Lutheran ministers have come, there has been nothing else but church quarrel, and attempts to get the Scandinavian population in a bigoted and opposing position to other sects.) We see in their lately published paper that they are warning their countrymen of taking too much after the English manners and language, and forgetting their own, and warning their parents not to let their children attend the English and Methodist Sunday-schools, which means the same as being kept in ignorance and dark, of which there is an abundance. (2)

My 'Free Thought' convinces me that unless we cease with this foolishness and not stand as enemies towards our English Brethren, it will be poverty and debt over our ears, both for Ministers and Congregation, and I see also from the apostolic teaching that we will be put to shame both for God and man.

We just need to cast an open eye on ourselves and see all through the 40-mile bush on the Germans and Scandinavians. We see that the Germans for the most part, contains Lutherans and Catholics and the most of them, as well as us, have heavily mortgaged their properties and, especially, the Scandinavians are in heavy debt, either to merchants, banks or building societies. How shall we be able to build churches and support our own ministers when we hardly can support ourselves. We are not strong enough to form an independent state, we should not be so proud of our pure (?) Lutheran doctrine. Luther was not a finisher, but a beginner in the reformation, he translated the Bible in German, but Wickcliff (sic) translated it into English 200 years before. We must not believe that all Luther has said and done is right, for also many of the Patriarchs did things which we must not do after.

We have heard that there has been two chapels in Australia, one German and one Scandinavian (instituted and put up by two so-called ministers there) standing empty, for the congregation could not hold their own ministers and heavy church outlay etc. etc. (3) How does the Lutheran church fund in Napier stand after it came under the Scandinavian control? They have a church loan amounting to £300. How does the Lutheran church fund in Norsewood stand? They owe about £100 on their parsonage which must be paid next year. And the new church which they have begun, is calculated to cost about £300 when built. Quite contrary is it with the Wesleyan chapels, because they are placed under a settled church. (4)

We had better use the churches that are already built for us, and less expensive than to let these so-called Lutheran ministers establish congregations and build churches at the expense of our superstitions and foolishness to our mental and spiritual overthrow. We hear that some of the Lutherans in Palmerston, as well as in Norsewood, and the other places, have begun to ponder about these matters and many have been tired of all this nonsense and expense. Let this now suffice for this time, but read it over again. - [signed] 'The Free Thought of a Lutheran'."

Viggo Monrad's blunt retaliation was much shorter. *"The Free Thought of a Lutheran," has convinced him (self) that for reasons of economy, the Lutherans should turn English, Catholic, Presbyterian, Wesleyan, or in short, anything which is English. Great attention will, in this case, have to be paid to the wealth of the body which we are going to join, and also, as doctrine counts for nothing, to the person of the minister. Whom is he going to propose, and to whom in future are we to pay our more economical subscriptions? Does it not strike the 'Free Thought of our so-called Lutheran' that (if economy is to be the high moral law) it would be more economical not to pay any clergyman at all!"* (MT 12/10/1881, 5/11/1881, 9/11/1881; Letter 21/2/1894: P. Lineham, P.N., to VAB)

FOOTNOTES

- (1) Pastor Gaustad, formerly a missionary in India, probably gave these lectures. (Lyng: 137)
- (2) Pastor Sass published 'The Evangelical Lutheran Monthly'. (M. Christensen: 13).
- (3) Sass and Gaustad previously worked in Queensland. (Lyng: 137-146).
- (4) The Napier Lutheran Church was built in 1881. The Norsewood Church, completed in 1882, held 500 people and was considered one of the finest churches in New Zealand. It was destroyed, along with much of Norsewood, in the great fire of 1888. (Lyng: 174-5)

LUTHERAN CELEBRATIONS - Not all church activities were so confrontational. Far more joyous was the four-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther [born 10/11/1483], which was celebrated around the world. The 'Times' reported the great pomp of Berlin's festival, as well as the local events.

On Saturday, November 9th, the mid-day train arrived at Palmerston North with many Lutherans from around the district. The visitors were met by the local Lutherans and the whole group, headed by Pastor Gaustad and Pastor Wilhelm Meyer, who served the German congregation at Marton, then headed for the Forester's Hall. As they walked, they sang "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott", which Luther had written. At the hall, the two clergymen conducted three services, the first together, the second in German conducted by both men, and the third in Danish conducted by Gaustad. The social tea at 6.00pm was very well attended, with the tables being filled two or three times. Those present included the most prominent German and Scandinavian settlers. Several leading English residents had also been invited. The tables were presided over by, amongst others, Mesdames Monrad, Frantzen and Graff.

At 8:00pm, with Viggo Monrad as chairman, Gaustad entertained a general meeting with a "lengthy and interesting" address on Luther's times, character and work. Monrad also spoke in appreciation of the kindness shown to foreigners by the English people in New Zealand. He thought that while their [the foreigners'] children would feel they were New Zealanders, the parents never would.



Viggo and Olga Monrad and two children, including baby Peder, in 1881. (from G.C. Petersen's 'D.G. Monrad': opp. 96)

The parents' birth nationality was ingrained and could not be removed, he considered. The gathering ended at about 10:00pm, following the singing of several hymns in German and English. Olga Monrad played the piano. (MT 12/11/1883. Also Bade: 221)

ENGLISH LANGUAGE USAGE - The Scandinavian Wesleyans were the first to officially stop using the Scandinavian language [probably Danish], although not without contention. Rev. Edward Nielsen had served the Methodist communities at Norsewood [1878-1883, 1886-1893] and Mauriceville [1883-1886] after leaving Palmerston North. He resigned in bitter disappointment in 1893 when, at the Methodist Church's Annual Conference, the fateful decision was made. The Conference felt that a growing knowledge of English in the Scandinavian communities made their traditional languages redundant. Nielsen, with his wife, Oline, and family of seven, then retired to Palmerston North where, after 15 months of ill-health, he died on 12 June 1894 aged 52. (Laurenson: 6, 16)

In an attempt to counter falling membership, use of the Danish language in the Lutheran Church in Palmerston North was reduced in 1927 and finally dropped in 1936. Younger members had been brought up in the English

language and these, along with non-Scandinavian spouses, could not readily understand the services. Once again, this transition did not pass without resentment in some quarters. (Clausen: 11-13)

It has been suggested (Grigg: 22) that many Scandinavians turned from Methodism around 1883 as they wished to attend churches which used their languages. Yet even the Methodists did not drop the language for another decade. Those who had turned to Lutheranism were mostly Lutherans who had never been fully committed to Methodism. People who became Open Brethren, coincidentally also around 1883, could not have considered language a major factor. Their preacher, C.H. Hinman, only spoke English.

We can only guess at what motivated the Scandinavian settlers in their choices of religious affiliation. Theology, culture, economics, the availability of pastors they could communicate with, and possibly reactions for or against assimilation with the dominant society, were all part of the equation. Similar problems appear to have occurred in other countries where Scandinavians settled. (Hale: 11-20) Dr. Peter Lineham, who specialises in religious history at Massey University, Palmerston North, explains the fundamental differences between the four main denominations covered here. He says that Lutheranism, like Anglicanism, has a set liturgy, or ritual of public worship, while the Methodists and Brethren have none. The latter two use singing, extempore prayer and exhortation. However, Methodists were an organised body, while the Brethren rejected organisation, all ordination and operated as a lay body. (per letter 21/2/1994 to VAB)

From this brief study, and the books published on the individual churches in Palmerston North, we can see that the Lutherans, though impoverished as a parish, had a powerful community leader in Viggo Monrad. Monrad, a Dane with an impressive pedigree, pulled the local Scandinavian community, especially the Danish portion of it, toward their cultural and theological heritage. However, he and his children returned to Denmark in 1885, following his wife's death. Memories of the strict authoritarianism of the Lutheran churches of their youth, along with the battling pastors and the constant demands on their modest resources, probably pushed some Lutherans away. The Scandinavian Wesleyans had enjoyed an early monopoly due to their Scandinavian pastor and their lighter financial demands. Perhaps they gave wavering Lutherans another perspective of religious life. In New Zealand, the Scandinavian people discovered the freedom of choice in religious matters, and this may have encouraged them to explore further afield.



Unknown early Palmerstonians from the C.A. Andersen Album, who were almost certainly Scandinavian and likely to be from the Celaeno and the England. (Palmerston North City Archives)

14 SCANDINAVIANS AND TERRACE END CEMETERY

Most of Palmerston North's original Scandinavian settlers now reside in the Lutheran and Wesleyan sections of Terrace End Cemetery. Originally known as Palmerston Cemetery, this was the town's second public cemetery. Plots are no longer available for sale, and the few burials which occur there now involve plots sold some time ago. The town's third public cemetery is the much larger Kelvin Grove Cemetery, opened in 1927. This is in James Line, in the middle of the former Stoney Creek Scandinavian Block. It continues to serve the city.

Palmerston North's first public cemetery adjoined Cuba Street, on the site of the present Showgrounds. It was used from 1871, but was considered too wet. As a result, in 1875, the better-drained Terrace End Cemetery was established in Napier Road. This new cemetery was also equipped with a convenient hillside for those who favoured a view. The occupants of 'old' cemetery were transferred to Terrace End, apparently to Public Reserve No. 1, but unfortunately only one headstone from Cuba Street survives.

William Aldridge, killed by a falling tree on 18 December 1875, was originally buried at Cuba Street. When the shift occurred a few months later, his new grave-site was immediately 'misplaced'. His descendants understand that paths which once crossed the Public Reserve were built over some relocated graves, including William's. [see the Vette story]

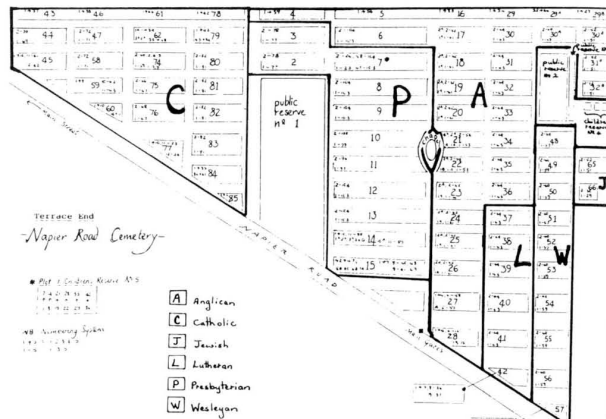
In the early years of its existence, the cemetery was frequently in the news. Pigs, cattle and even horses made themselves at home in the bush still covering much of the site. They also wandered over the mounds and many grave-markers must have been destroyed during that time. (MT 3/3/1877, 22/6/1878, 12/6/1880)

By 1880, the cemetery had been surveyed into denominational divisions. Public Reserves were set aside for those unable to afford a plot and also for still-born children. There are 1,844 recorded burials in Public Reserve No. 1, although the total is thought to be nearer 2,000.

Many burials from the 1870s and early 1880s do not appear in surviving cemetery registers. Cemetery records were undoubtedly amongst the many public records burnt in the Town Hall fire of 4 August 1885. The only items to survive were those with the good fortune to be in the building's various fireproof safes that night. (ES 5/8/1885, 7/8/1885) Certainly, the oldest surviving Cemetery Register for Public Reserve No. 1 (Ref: 2/11/1, Vol. 4), improves dramatically in detail from the first burial after the fire. This burial occurred on August 16th.

Three-year-old Karen Andersen [daughter of C.A. Andersen (q.v.)], who died in March 1877, is said to have been one of the first children buried at the cemetery. The writer's great grandmother, Marie Christensen (q.v.), died four months before the Town Hall fire. Both are in Public Reserve No. 1, but neither appears in surviving cemetery records.

The cemetery has suffered considerably from vandalism recently, with many headstones being smashed or overturned by misguided persons. Despite this senseless damage, recently-planted trees and shrubs are becoming established and with weed-spraying and general tidying - from a distance - the cemetery itself is looking better than ever. Also, in mid-1994, the Palmerston North City Council approved funding to be spent restoring the worst affected parts of the cemetery, in appreciation of the cemetery's historical value. The editor of the 'Manawatu Times' would be very satisfied with the walks, trees and ornamen-



Plan of Terrace End Cemetery, Palmerston North, showing the religious denominations and the public reserves. The cemetery is now surrounded by housing and light industry, with the central city being about two kilometres away, on the left [western] side of the plan. (Palmerston North City Archives)



Blocks 40 and 41 of the Lutheran portion of Terrace End Cemetery, facing Keith Street and the eastern corner of the cemetery. The S.P.C.A. building on the right replaced the Sexton's house. The bare patch of ground behind the child [the writer's son Kieran] and a vague, undated reference in the 'post-Town Hall fire' cemetery register, are all that mark the grave of local Scandinavian leader, musician and astronomer, Svenne Victor Langkjær (q.v.). He died about nine weeks before the fire. (Val Burr - October 1993)

tal shrubs now at the grounds. He suggested these things in his editorial of 3 March 1877. However he, and the concerned locals of that time [many of whom now reside there], would be dismayed to realise that the straying livestock of their day had been replaced by a few youthful humans with similar tendencies.

[FOOTNOTE: Palmerston North's earliest Birth and Death Registers were also destroyed in the Town Hall fire of 4 August 1885. Those now held at the Palmerston North Courthouse begin in September 1880 and mid-August 1885 respectively. The Birth Register obviously survived the fire, although its predecessor [1871-1880] did not. The duplicates, held by the Registrar-General, have survived.]

(Sources include:- Ian Matheson's 'Notes for Tour of Historic Graves of Napier Road Cemetery: 23/2/1986; Cemetery records held at P.N. City Archives; Birth and Death Registers held at P.N. Courthouse.)

15 LEGISLATION AND THE SCANDINAVIANS

WOMEN'S FRANCHISE

Few women confirmed as Scandinavian signed the Women's Franchise Petition in Palmerston North in 1893. Others are known to be daughters-in-law - of unknown background - while married daughters of Scandinavians may have non-Scandinavian husbands.

The signatories included Annie Anderson, wife of P.P. Anderson (q.v.); Minnie Anderson, corner Broad and Terrace [Ruahine] Streets; Karen Bergersen (q.v.); C. Bolstad, Main Street; Mary Christensen, Waldegrave Street; the Norwegian-born Ida Coldstream (q.v.); J. Daue, Fitzherbert Street [wife of a Dane from the *Humboldt*]; Matilda, Josephine and Mrs Mary Eriksen of Broad Street; Mrs H. Ihle, Featherston Street, the daughter-in-law of A.H. Ihle (q.v.); Catherine Jensen, Taonui Street; A.E. Jensen, Main Street; Mrs L. Johanson, Stoney Creek; Mari Moeller, Broad Street [maybe Marie C. Moller, the mother of Anna Nannestad or a relative of Philip Moeller]; Anna E. Nannestad, Main Street [wife of Jacob]; Dagmar Roos, Boundary Road; Swedish-born Petronella Torstenson, Boundary Road [ex-*Humboldt*]; Mrs C. Voss, Kairanga; Gerda Elizabeth Westerholm, nee Blixt (q.v.).

Anna Nannestad was the most prominent on the list, possibly followed by Karen Bergersen. There is nothing to indicate that any of these women took a role in organising the petition itself.

(Source:- *New Zealand Society of Genealogists: Palmerston North Branch, 1993 Women's Suffrage Project, researched by Noeline Penny and Val Burr.*)

JOHN COLDSTREAM and IDA LOUISA WILLIAMSON

Ida Louisa Coldstream, nee Williamson [or 'Vilhelmsdatter'] was born at Flekkefjord, a shipping and fishing village in Norway, on 11 February 1856. Her parents were Vilhelm Mathias Larsen and his wife Christine Pauline Jansdatter. This couple had five other known children: Malia, Ludvig, Petra, Tamina and Amina, some



Ida Louisa Coldstream, one of the Scandinavian women who signed the Women's Franchise Petition in Palmerston North, in 1893. (Ivy Santini, Hastings)

of whom are thought to have settled in America. Her brothers were sailors.

Ida arrived in the South Island on an unknown ship, in about 1872 according to her Alien Registration records. The *Friedeburg*, which arrived at Lyttelton on 30 August 1872, carrying 57 Norwegians, is a possibility.

On 27 March 1874, Ida had married John [Johan] Coldstream at Christchurch. He had been born in Finland on 9 November 1847, and is understood to have been the oldest in his family. His father was Johan Coldstream, a labourer. His mother's name is unknown.

When the crops failed in John's home district, he was sent off to work. These crop failures resulted from severe frosts which struck every few years, including the "devastatingly cold summers" of the late 1860s. (Somme: 169, 175) By the time he was 9 or 12 years old, John was at sea, working as a cabin boy. It is not known when he came to New Zealand, although his death certificate indicates an 1872 arrival for him also.

The family understands that John changed his surname, and his original name is lost. By the Scandinavian way of creating surnames, John should have been 'Johan Johansen'. 'Coldstream' no doubt has some relevance in his background, such as a farm or village name. The family published a memorial to him in the 'Evening Standard' of 28 June 1911, in which they described him as "M.J. Coldstream." The writer wonders if the 'M' stood for what became the firstborn son's second name 'Marscleus', or one of its various spellings. The family understands that one of the two South Island places called Coldstream was named after John.

Although the couple had twelve children, including two sets of twins, these years were dogged with sadness. Six children died, including all the twins. Their children were: Mary and Lena [25/8/1874-26/8/1874], Josaphine Louisa [redg. as Josepha, 11/10/1875-8/4/1876], John Marscleus [redg. as John Marsaylous and John Marsaylews, [5/2/1877-27/4/1878], William Alexander [7/3/1879], Bessie May [17/5/1881], Leonard Martin [18/9/1883], Victor August [8/12/1885], Percival Christoffer [3/1/1888], twins Cecilia Prua [8/5/1890-17/2/1891] and Mabel Alvilde [8/5/1890-17/10/1890], and finally Ruth [17/7/1893].

The couple's first six children were registered in Ellesmere, Canterbury, and at some time following Bessie's birth, they moved to East Taranaki. Leonard's birth was registered in New Plymouth in 1883.

In about 1884 Ida's brother Ludvig, and sister Petra (then 16) arrived in New Zealand. They disembarked near Patea and were met by Ida. A 'highlight' of their journey had occurred in London, where Petra missed the train taking her to the ship. She was left behind at the station, which must have been terrifying - especially as she could not speak English.

Victor's birth registration indicates that by late 1885 the Coldstream family was in Palmerston North. The Borough Council's Rate Books indicate that they lived in Taonui Street [Sec. 302, All. 64] from about 1886-7. They were there in 1893 when Ida signed the Women's Franchise Petition. John (52) was naturalised as a carpenter of Palmerston North on 14 September 1893. In about 1897-8 Ida became responsible for the rates on one acre of land which stretched from North Street, which was their address, and Roy Street [Sec. 302, All. 41-2]. They disappear from the rate books in about 1900-1.

The family are understood to have lived at Bunnythorpe at some stage, probably soon after 1900. Certainly 'L. and P. Coldstream' appear on the Bunnythorpe School's Roll of Honour for World War One servicemen. (Jepsen: 62) William ['Bill'] is thought to have attended Fitzherbert School, although he does not appear on the Fitzherbert East School roll. (Fitzherbert: 105-6)

The Coldstream marriage had deteriorated and eventually the couple separated [1897-8 ?]. John appears to have remained in Manawatu, while Ida was apparently living in the Ohakune area by the early 1900s.

John (65) died at Palmerston North Hospital on 28 June 1907, supposedly after falling from a bridge. Certainly there was a major flood that week, although the two local newspapers do not mention him. His death certificate indicates sudden heart problems. He died after 12 hours of illness and was buried at Terrace End Cemetery the next day. He had then been in New Zealand 35 years.

Ida was a midwife and clearly a hard worker. She was described as stern, but kind, and as having a "bark which was worse than her bite". The family understands that when midwives had to become registered [under the Midwives Act, 1904], the citizens of the Ohakune area paid for her to go to Dunedin to sit an oral exam. Her written English had been too limited for her to sit a written paper. At some stage she was presented with an 'Old Colonists Association' badge [number 1188], which Ngaire Cole still has. The reason is unknown, but community service or midwifery are thought to have been likely causes.

In 1908 Ida opened a boarding house in Horopito. As well as providing a home for some 40 men, she continued to work as the local midwife. She was still there, and nursing, in 1917, aged 63. On one, and possibly two occasions, this remarkable woman worked her passage back to Norway - as a stewardess on a ship! She was accompanied by her daughter, Ruth. Ruth married Francis Gray at Horopito on 23 June 1911. (ES 28/6/1911)

Ida died at Raetihi on 26 March 1930, aged 76 years, and is buried at Raetihi Cemetery.

By 1890, when he was naturalised, Ida's brother Ludvig Williamson was a bootmaker in Palmerston North. He later went to Australia. Petra Williamson married Frederick Maul [1867-1930], whose family had arrived from Germany in about 1876. He was the son of Carl Friedrich Leopold Maul, who had settled on Section 960, in the Ranfurly Street area of Ferguson Street. (MT 31/8/1878) Petra and Frederick settled at Stoney Creek, where by 1889-90 they owned the Stoney Creek properties: Section 412, Lots 19 and part 20, on Napier Road. (MRB 1889-90 Rate Book)

(Family source:- L.E.C. of Palmerston North [a granddaughter]; Ngaire Cole, Hamilton. Maul family source: Ngaire Bayley, Turakina. Also Ngaire Cole's family story 'John and Ida Coldstream', dated 22/2/1992.)

NATURALISATION

Obtaining British nationality was regarded as an important step toward assimilation into New Zealand society. Most families covered here did this at some point. Naturalisation had a variety of implications. For example, until The Alien Act of 1870, it had been impossible for foreign subjects to own or inherit land in New Zealand. This change was of great significance to the many 'foreign-born' settlers who began arriving a few months later.

Last century, it was almost invariably men who swore the Oath of Allegiance to the British monarch. A wife, regardless of where she was born, received the nationality of her husband when she married. (D. Page: 163) An example of this was Nellie Branting, the English-born wife of the Swedish doctor, K.G.T. Branting. (q.v.) Wives and younger children were automatically naturalised at the

same time as their husband or father, while adult children took the Oath independently.

The Old-age Pension Act of 1898 required recipients to be British subjects. Foreign-born people had to have been naturalised at least five years before they could apply for the pension - provided they were not also Chinese or 'Asiatic', as these people were denied this right on racial grounds. In addition to the age clause [65 years and older] and the various good behavior clauses, the applicant had to have resided in New Zealand more or less continuously for at least 25 years. Up to two years' absence, in total, was acceptable.

This 1898 Act permitted naturalised immigrants who had arrived prior to late-1873, to begin applying for the pension. Robert Bochnig, from the 'England', applied in 1899. He was assessed at £2 per year, providing he supplied a statement of his income for the previous year. The 'Dannevirke Advocate' recorded lists of applicants to the Old Age Pension Court in their district, including many Scandinavians, as immigrants there became eligible. (DA 23/1/1902, 22/1/1903, 23/4/1903, 11/2/1904) If people arrived at Court without their naturalisation papers, their cases were held over until these were located or replaced.

Much of the statistical information used in this book derives from either the naturalisation records or the 1917 Alien Register [covered separately]. The naturalisation papers record the applicant's name, address, occupation, place of birth and how long he or she had been in New Zealand. Spouses and children were not mentioned. The combination of these two sources indicates movement around the country and changes in occupation.

The individual naturalisation files sometimes hold other letters concerning the person while he or she was alive. Charles Mariboe's file included a letter asking what his age had been at time of naturalisation, as he was seeking an old age pension (q.v.). Rasmus Jensen's file included a letter written by a potential employer during the First World War, seeking confirmation of his naturalisation status (q.v.).

The actual naturalisation records are held by National Archives, Wellington. The Massey University Library, Palmerston North, has a summary of the entire list, published in three volumes. The first volume, the 'Register of Persons Naturalised in New Zealand before 1948: Non-Commonwealth,' is the most useful in this instance. The Register of Aliens is also held there.

WORLD WAR ONE, SCANDINAVIANS AND PALMERSTON NORTH

World War One was a traumatic time for immigrants from Europe and Scandinavia, despite the distance from their homelands. People with non-British accents or surnames found themselves viewed as potential enemies. Some families covered in this book cover this topic, while the story of Knud and Karen Jensen, in 'Skandia I', is a very good example of this predicament.


The changing of Palmerston North's more 'German-sounding' street-names on 16 November 1917, was a reaction to this discomfort. Newspapers of the day referred to German foes, collectively, as 'Fritz'. Thus 'Frits Street', named after Frits Jenssen, the Norwegian ex-Mayor and co-owner of Richter, Nannestad & Co., became 'Russell Street' after a World War One General, who was deemed more deserving. The name-selection committee had wanted to name it 'Hinemoa Street', but were over-ruled. (MT 3/10/1917) The sawmilling company was further slighted by Tramway Street being renamed Heretaunga Street.

Gibaut and Schlager Streets, and Jersey Avenue, became Beresford, Maire and Aroha Streets respectively, at the same time. (ES 22/11/1917) In fact John Daniel Gibaut [pronounced 'Gibbo'], may have been British as his name

is not in the records of 'aliens'. He had purchased Section 278 in Rangitikei Street in 1867. Theodore Peter Schlager was born in Heligoland [now Helgoland], an island off the North Sea coast of Schleswig-Holstein, in about 1844. He reached New Zealand about 1866 and was an old age pensioner in Dannevirke by 1917. A letter to the 'Manawatu Daily Times' complained that Schlager Street would be more appropriately named 'Tiratu Street' as Mr Clausen's Tiratu Timberyard [an outlet of the Tiratu Sawmilling Company] took up much of the road frontage. Presumably the presence of a Dane [Clausen] was still too 'foreign'. (MT 5/10/1917)

New Zealand-born sons of immigrant families, such as those from the above-mentioned Knud Jensen family, went off to war, not only to defend their country, but also to relieve pressure and suspicion from their families. If these sons were away risking, and sometimes losing, their lives to protect New Zealand and the British Empire, they were hardly likely to be fiercely patriotic defenders of the German Empire.

[NOTE: Scandia Street and Alexandra Streets became continuations of Albert and Victoria Streets, respectively, in March 1926, despite the protests of the Scandinavian community. Broad Street, which is frequently mentioned in this book, became Broadway Avenue at that time also. (Bradfield 1956: 162, 176)]



Having a son serving overseas in New Zealand's armed forces during the First World War, eased some of the negative pressures on aging parents back home who had 'foreign-sounding' accents and surnames. These three men are the non-British soldiers from Kelvin Grove's First World War Roll of Honour. They represent two families who settled in the Stoney Creek Scandinavian Block in the mid-1870s.

Lieutenant William Setter [1891-1942] (photo a) served in the Middle East, having been called up in 1915 for the 6th (Manawatu) Mounted Rifles. (ES 6/11/1915) He was the son of the Prussian couple, Kasper and Maria Setter, who arrived on the *Terpsichore* in 1876 and initially settled on Lot 68 in Roberts Line. Later the family moved to what became Setters Line. Kasper Setter was from Volklingen, near the city of Saarbrücken and the present German-French border - or from Greiz, Saarbrücken, according to his naturalisation records. He married Maria Prediger at nearby Puttlingen, or at Westphalia, Prussia. [Note: The Saarland area had been taken by France from the Counts of Nassau-Saarbrücken in 1893. It had been part of Prussia since 1815.]

Private Ken C. Jensen [1895-1988] (photo b) and Lance Corporal Roy E. Jensen [1896-1985] (photo c) were grandsons of Knud and Karen Jensen who arrived on the *Humboldt* with their young family in 1875 and settled on Lot 57 in James Line. The badges the brothers are wearing indicate that Ken was in the 22nd Reinforcement which left New Zealand in February 1917, while Roy was in the 29th Reinforcement which left New Zealand in August 1917. Ken served in France in the Otago Regiment. Roy, who probably served in France also, lost half of one leg to the war effort.

Roy's son, Graeme, recalled that his Danish-born grandfather, Christian Jensen, was very distressed by the attitudes toward Danes during the war years, especially toward those from Schleswig-Holstein. He was amongst those Danes who responded by becoming, "very patriotic and strongly pro-King and country." Danes who visited him were told, "Here you must speak English! No Danish here!" When Graeme later asked his grandfather to teach him some Danish, Christian refused. "New Zealand is a British country - we must be like them and speak English," he said. [See also 'Skandia I': 29-32] No wonder, with pressures such as these, that traditional languages and customs did not survive long in New Zealand. Christian Jensen [whose wife was of British descent], Maria Setter and her eldest son, Casper John, all registered as aliens in 1917, despite Knud Jensen, Kasper Setter senior and Casper Setter junior having been naturalised in 1885, 1879 and 1893 respectively.

(Jensen family source: letter, Graeme R. Jensen, Brisbane, to VAB: 10/2/1990. Setter family source: Fred Setter, Palmerston North. Also Lowe: 18-9, 22-3; and my research on the men in Kelvin Grove's photographic Roll of Honour now at Kelvin Grove Community Centre. Photos: Palmerston North City Archives. - VAB)

16

THE REGISTRATION OF ALIENS ACT, 1917

While I was preparing this book, and helping other researchers, I made considerable use of the 'Register Of Aliens', which was compiled in 1917. (1) This research included perhaps 400 to 500 surnames, mostly of people who had arrived in the 1870s, including the entire non-British passengers lists of the *Celaeno* [1871], the *England* [1871 & 1872] and the *Humboldt* [1875]. Cross-checking for these surnames in the naturalisation records was also part of this process. (2) When finally I read the 1917 Registration of Aliens Act, I became aware of a curious feature. I was well aware that many of the names I had found in the 'Register of Aliens' were of settlers who had been naturalised as British subjects in the years between their arrival, and World War One. But now I realised that as they were British subjects, they should not have registered. Why then had they done this? For the time being, unfortunately, the answer to this question remains uncertain, however, confusion, misinformation and maybe even anger, appear to have played a role.

Like many other governments during World War One, the New Zealand Government put into place a variety of safety measures, including legislation, aimed at controlling the non-British subjects [ie. 'aliens'] amongst its population. Some bills proved too radical and were thrown out, including the Naturalised Subjects Bill and the Registration of Business Names Bill. Others became law, including the Alien Enemy Teachers Act, 1915 [aimed at removing the German-born, English-raised - but unnaturalised - Professor George von Zedlitz, from Victoria University College. (R. McLennan: 114-8)], the Revocation of Naturalisation Act, 1917, and the Registration of Aliens Act, 1917.

The Naturalised Subjects Franchise Bill was introduced annually from 1916 to 1918, only to be thrown out each time. This Bill, which copied, almost word for word, New South Wales' Naturalised Subject's Franchise Act, 1916, was intended to prevent former citizens of enemy countries from voting, occupying various public offices or holding liquor licences. (3) Although the Bill was never passed, its supporters managed to have some of its provisions written into other Acts such as the Registration of Aliens Act, 1917, and the War Legislation Act, 1917. Also unsuccessful was the Registration of Business Names Bill. Described in the 'Manawatu Evening Standard's' editorial of 1 August 1917 as a "drastic measure to prevent aliens disguising themselves under British-sounding names for business purposes", it was put forward annually from 1917 to 1921.

By 1917, attitudes amongst the New Zealand population were firmly against those they perceived as threats, and a variety of patriotic organisations had been formed as a result. (Hucker Thesis: ch. 3) Newspapers frequently reported activities occurring both locally and overseas which were considered suspicious, and some of these involved Scandinavians. (ES 11-12/9/1917, 22/9/1917)

On 15 September 1917, in the course of this often misguided patriotic fervour, the Revocation of Naturalisation Act was passed. Its title, if taken literally, could have been interpreted as automatically revoking all existing naturalisations. Certainly, a few weeks earlier the 'Evening Standard' had described it under the headline "Drastic Anti-Alien Law". This headline in fact referred to the Registration of Business Names Bill which was later thrown out. The article stated that the Revocation of Naturalisation Bill gave the Government the "power to withdraw naturalisation already granted". (ES 1/8/1917) (4) It was intended to deal with naturalised New Zealand-

ers from both 'enemy' countries and 'friendly' countries, citing the New Zealand-based descendants of Germans who had emigrated to America as a reason for including citizens of 'friendly' countries. One Member of Parliament, who spoke of receiving inquiries from people worried that their naturalisation papers might be cancelled, was reassured that the intention was only to act against people seen as a specific threat. (NZPD, 1917, Vol. 178: 47) If they had known the true content of this Act, naturalised subjects would hardly have rushed off to register as aliens. Unfortunately, public education campaigns were not a priority for the government of the day.

The Registration of Aliens Bill was first read in the House of Representatives on 1 August 1917, its second reading and first debate taking place on September 11th. At that time, the Hon. George. W. Russell, the Minister of Internal Affairs, advised the House that the Imperial Government had requested that New Zealand overhaul its registration-of-aliens law. He also went to some trouble to define the word 'alien' under the Bill. This was, he said, "a person of either sex, not less than 15 years of age, who is not a British subject either by birth or by naturalisation in New Zealand". Naturalisation in another British country did not qualify for the clause "naturalisation in New Zealand". (NZPD, 1917, Vol. 180: 35)

When questioned directly about the status of those who were already naturalised, whatever their origin, Russell confirmed that only if they did something deemed aggressive to the State would they risk having their naturalisation revoked under the earlier Act. (NZPD, 1917, Vol. 180: 35-6, 52-3) As it happened, an oversight in the preparation of this Bill meant that those whose naturalisation was revoked under the Revocation of Naturalisation Act, 1917, were still not legally required to register until the Registration of Aliens Amendment Act was passed in 1920.

Politicians were clear on the substance and meaning of the Act, and the definition of 'alien'. Parliamentary reporters recording the debates for the country's newspapers, then the main purveyors of this information to the general public, were not so clear - or chose not to be clear.

The 'Evening Standard' reported the debate of 11 September 1917, claiming Russell had said, "the Bill provided for the registration of all aliens, whether from friendly, neutral or enemy countries." Omitted was Russell's aforementioned definition of an 'alien'. Furthermore, the report also quoted, or rather mis-quoted, the statistics Russell had presented from the 1911 Census. Russell gave figures for "people of alien race", including Austria-Hungary 2,131; German Empire 4,015; Denmark 2,262; Chinese Empire [about] 2,611; and other alien countries 8,552 [including Sweden, 1,518, and Norway, 1,344]. (5) This totalled 19,571 people of all ages who had been born in non-British countries. (NZPD, 1917, Vol. 180: 37) Russell did not claim that these figures were for the actual number of "aliens" who would be required to register, as the reporter chose to describe them. (ES 12/9/1917, 13/9/1917) In fact, only 12,050 of these men, women and children were described in the Census as 'foreign subjects'. (Census of NZ, 1911: 179)

The Bill stated that every alien in New Zealand who was not exempt had 28 days after the passing of the Act to apply to be registered. Failure to do so would result in a fine of up to £50. When the Bill passed through the Legislative Council for the last time on September 25th, the Hon. John Barr was concerned by the short time

allowed for registrations. He thought delays, such as printing the regulations, might cause problems and that people who did not read newspapers might innocently find themselves in court for failing to register. As a result, the regulations and application forms were to be gazetted "at once" and a notice put in the newspapers. (NZPD, 1917, Vol. 180: 355-6)

Dominion of  New Zealand.

**REGISTRATION OF ALIENS ACT,
1917.**

NOTICE.

EVERY alien is required to make application for registration in the prescribed form not later than 1st December, 1917.

"Alien" means a person of either sex not less than fifteen years of age who is not a British subject either by birth or by naturalisation in New Zealand.

Alien seamen may register with Collector of Customs at port where vessel is lying.

Every such application shall be in writing in duplicate, and shall be made by delivering the same personally to a Registration Officer.

A certificate of registration will be issued upon receipt of each application.

Forms of application are obtainable at all police-stations throughout the Dominion.

Police officers in charge of police-stations and Customs officers at main ports are Registration Officers.

Penalty for failing to register, £50.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS.

On removing from one county or borough to another a registered alien must notify new place of abode within fourteen days.

Penalty for failure, £20.

(By order) **MALCOLM FRASER,**
Government Statistician.
Wellington, 9th November, 1917.

The public notice which called aliens to register as such. This copy appeared in the 'Manawatu Evening Standard' on 19 November 1917. Probably the notice itself should be dated November 19th, as it was in other newspapers, instead of November 9th as shown here.

The finalised Act was dated 29 September 1917 and clearly there were delays. The regulations and copies of the application forms to be used were published in the 'New Zealand Gazette' six weeks later, on November 8th (1917, p. 4138-40). These did not define the word 'alien' at all, only those who were exempt, such as Consuls representing foreign countries. Applicants were simply to be asked their [current] "nationality" and their "nationality of origin", in the expectation that they were not naturalised in New Zealand. Other questions required far more detailed answers.

The notice finally appeared in the country's newspapers on Monday morning, November 19th, by which time there were only 13 days left to register. The notice, which was repeated over several days, clearly defined the term 'alien', but the foreign-born community apparently took no notice.

It appears that these two official notices, and the often imperfect and prejudiced newspaper articles, were the extent of the Government's 1917-style public education campaign. As if to rub salt into local wounds, the Palmerston North Borough Council took the opportunity to change the town's supposedly German street names by 'Special Order', between the passing of the Act and the beginning of the registration period. A 'Special Meeting' to this effect was held on November 16th. (ES 3/10/1917, 22/11/1917)

One of the first to register was Anton Ewald Koehler of Palmerston North, the 80-year-old father-in-law of Danish-born Kristine Koehler (see N.C. Hansen). Koehler had been born in Sorau, Prussia [now Zary, Poland], but later lived in Guben [on the present border of Germany and Poland], the source of many of Manawatu's German settlers. Although almost certainly a conscript, he had won an Iron Cross in the Prussian Army during the Franco-Prussian War. Possibly this military honour weighed quite heavily upon him by 1917. Some time on Tuesday, November 20th, Koehler died. It is sad to think that this elderly pioneer's last hours were tormented in such a way. He had been a naturalised New Zealander since 1893. (6)

The venomous editorials in the 'Evening Standard' had kept its readers informed of the Act's progress and the reasons for passing it. Then, on November 21st, it also [somewhat belatedly] defined who was to register, clarifying those eligible as the "subjects of both neutral and enemy Powers, and (also) the subjects of Allied Powers". It then proceeded to compare Germans to gorillas and wolves.

There is evidence to indicate that the foreign-born community had a better relationship with the 'Evening Standard's' competitor, the 'Manawatu Daily Times', and while the 'Times' published the notice, it gave it little coverage. A likely reason for this softer attitude was that the Manawatu Daily Times Company's Chairman [1915-1945] was Alfred Seifert, the New Zealand-born son of an immigrant from Saxony, yet another of Prussia's 19th century acquisitions. It is possible therefore that any reliance on the 'Times' by the foreign-born community could have contributed to some extent to the lack of correct information locally.

But of course Palmerstonians were not unique in their response to the Act. On November 19th, the 'Feilding Star' defined the term 'alien' for its readers - then added that "our only regret is that every naturalisation paper issued to Germans has not been cancelled." Unfortunately 10 Scandinavians and 7 Germans, who were British nationals living in the Feilding Borough, did not read, or evaluate, this remark. Christchurch's 'The Press' of November 23rd commented on the scores of aliens registering at the local



A coffee stall run by the Scandinavian community, probably at the November 1914 A&P Show. At this time, many community groups were raising funds to help the people of Belgium, whose country had been invaded by Germany at the beginning of World War One. Manawatu's second-known Scandinavian Club, to which these women probably belonged, had been formed several days before the outbreak of war. With L.G. West as president and Arthur E. Clausen ('Skandia I': 33-4) as secretary, it was intended to be a social club and as a means of sharing news from Scandinavia. It also aimed to help new arrivals who could not speak English. This was not the best time for such a club to flourish; by May 1917 it had apparently failed and club property was being disposed of. [ES 3/8/1914, 24/5/1917. Note: L.G. West died 1919 and A.E. Clausen died 1923. Also see 'Skandia I': 68-70] (Palmerston North Public Library)

police station, and the fact that "neither the police nor anybody else thought there were so many aliens in Christchurch". The report added that, given the various "knotty problems" they were being faced with regarding eligibility and workload, the police would no doubt be extremely pleased when the last day of registration was over. These problems and this sentiment were undoubtedly shared by police throughout the country - to say nothing of the feelings of their 'alien' clients.

By November 28th, 63 people had registered with the Palmerston North Police. This group was "largely made up of Danes, and then follow Swedes, Norwegians, Americans, Russians, Syrians and Greeks." (ES 28/11/1917) So much for all the dreaded enemy aliens!

Illiteracy in English, failure to ask for or receive correct information regarding eligibility, large-scale panic, fear of the £50 fine for failing to register and, of course, confusion regarding the Revocation of Naturalisation Act, are all possible causes if a large scale misunderstanding occurred. Obviously there was considerable scope for such problems given the times and the distressed 'clients'.

Proof that problems were quickly recognised came on November 30th, with the 'Evening Standard's' announcement that the Government Statistician had clarified who was required to register. This must have disappointed the more rabidly 'anti-alien' politicians and like-minded citizens, who would have delighted in the misunderstandings which were occurring. It was made clear that wives and under-age children [ie. under 21] had been automatically naturalised at the time their husbands or fathers were naturalised, as long as they had been living with this person at the time. Alien women married to British subjects did not have to register. Women born as British subjects, but who were married to alien men, did have to register. Lastly, New Zealand-born children of alien parents were automatically British subjects by birth, and did not have to register. A 'Memorandum for Registration Officers', written by the Government Statistician on 5

April 1918 and printed in the front of the 'Register of Aliens', emphasises in italics that only aliens "not naturalised in New Zealand", were required to register.

Karen Jepsen [66], Karen Sorensen [70] and Maren Tiller [60] (q.v.) were amongst those wives who assumed they had not been naturalised with their husbands. Bernt and Elisabet Johansen (q.v.), both 72, also erroneously described themselves as 'foreigners'. British-born wives who registered, regardless of their husband's current nationality, did not have their names published in the Register. Foreign-born wives with British surnames do appear

Around 400 Danish settlers and descendants of Danish settlers from around the country, along with invited guests, enjoy a luncheon in the Produce Hall at the Palmerston North Showgrounds on Wednesday afternoon, 14 April 1920. [Wednesdays were half-day holidays then] The great celebration, chaired by Charles Dahl (q.v.) and with Arthur E. Clausen as secretary, was in honour of the restoration of Northern Schleswig to Denmark following a referendum in Schleswig. The Hall was decorated in the red and white colours of Denmark along with flowers and greenery. The waitresses wore white dresses with red sashes, while all present wore red and white rosettes. The luncheon was followed by games for the many children present, while the adults listened to musical entertainment and a variety of speeches. A social gathering was held in the evening. An address, in book form, was to be presented from the gathering to King Christian X of Denmark, congratulating him on the return of Northern Schleswig. This contained about 700 signatures, and photos of New Zealand. (ES 14/4/1920, 15/4/1920) People arriving from Schleswig-Holstein during World War One had been regarded as German by the New Zealand Government, whether or not they considered themselves Danes. (NZPD, 1917, Vol. 179: 277) Those Danes from Schleswig-Holstein who were already here did their best to forget the nationality which had been forced on them in 1864. People attending the luncheon were told by Pastor Christensen that 25,000 men from Schleswig had been forced into the German Army to fight against the Allies. Of these, 6,000 had been killed. [ES 15/4/1920] (Palmerston North Public Library)



though, including some clearly confused about their current nationality. (7)

While there are grounds to suit the misunderstanding theory - and very likely there was a degree of misunderstanding - to apply this theory to all cases without question is to assume that all who registered unnecessarily were extremely frightened, were too lazy to read the notice in the newspapers [or to have it translated], or were deficient in some other way on a nation-wide scale. Some people may have registered simply to put their current nationality on record or because of some anxiety about their status, especially as registrations took place at the local police station. However, I find it impossible to accept such a theory without question - and I cannot believe so many people, a number of whom I have researched in reasonable depth, could suddenly have become so gullible.

Some very prominent people who were long since naturalised and who would seem unlikely to be easily misled, were amongst those who took the trouble to register themselves. Locally, these included the architect and former Mayor of Palmerston North, Ludolph G. West [70] (Skandia I: 9); Palmerston North's Lutheran pastor, Mads Christensen [60], (Skandia I: 42); and two owners of very successful large businesses of their day, namely Charles Dahl [60] (q.v.) and the newly retired German [born in what is now Poland] liquor merchant, and decorated Franco-Prussian War veteran, Herman L. Wollerman [67] (ES 20/10/1920, 7/7/1951; 'Australian Brewers' Journal' 20/9/1907: 815-6).



Ludolph Georg West [1846-1919], the Danish-born architect whose public role in Palmerston North included serving as the town's Mayor [1886-1887] and as chairman of the second Scandinavian Club [1914-?]. A number of the buildings he designed, or partly designed, still stand in Palmerston North, including Caccia Birch House. See his biography in 'Skandia I' (p. 9) and also some of his surviving buildings in the brochure, 'Palmerston North Heritage Trails: Architect's Walk'. (Palmerston North Public Library)

Further afield, and even more unlikely to have registered by mistake, was the highly-educated, Danish-born barrister, Oscar T.J. Alpers, of Christchurch. He had been naturalised in 1887 aged 20, as part of his father's naturalisation. Alpers was very active in patriotic work throughout the war and had assisted with recruiting for the armed forces. This activity had included touring the country in late 1915, holding meetings and making recruiting speeches. He also helped establish the Returned Soldiers' Association [now the Returned Servicemen's Association] and became its first [Honorary] Life Member. In 1925, he was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court, the first Dane ever to become an English Judge. A member of yet another poor assisted immigrant family when he arrived at Napier [where the family settled] on the *Friedeburg* in 1875, Alpers was to be described by J. Lyng in 1939 (p. 186) as having had the most brilliant career of all the Scandinavians who came to New Zealand in the 1870s. While Alpers may have checked the validity of his naturalisation due to his 'advanced' age in 1887, he of all people would not have registered simply through ignorance. Unfortunately, when the dying Alpers compiled his autobiography, 'Cheerful Yesterdays', from his sickbed in 1927, he apparently did not consider his significant wartime activities cheerful enough to include in a book intended to provide his young family with extra income. (EP 21/11/1927, 25/11/1927; TP 9/2/1925, 22/11/1927)

To dupe such people into registering unnecessarily, the pressure to do so would have to have been intense. It has

not been possible in this instance to search for a deliberate attempt by the naturalised community to bombard the Register with unnecessary registrations, but this cannot be ruled out. It is also unlikely that such people would risk leaving a trail of evidence. One of the highly respected Alpers' obituaries hinted at a possible answer. It stated that, "injustices of any kind at once aroused his keen resentment," and certainly, many of the actions directed at 'foreigners' around this time were clearly unjust. (EP 25/11/1927)

By December 6th over 200 aliens had registered at Palmerston North, "including 89 Chinese". (ES 6/12/1917) In fact, 390 people from the Palmerston North Borough had registered, including 55 Chinese, only two of whom were British subjects. The adjoining Kairanga County had a further 21 Chinese, who were probably included in the above figure. It seems ironic that the Chinese now warranted special comment, while the previously persecuted people from the countries with whom New Zealand was at war, were still not mentioned.

The 1921 Census (p. 112) found that 18,007 people of all ages had been born in 'alien' countries. Of these, 10,898 stated that they had since become British subjects, while 6,719 retained the nationality of their birthplace. The remainder [390] were people who had a different nationality to their birthplace such as those who had been naturalised in some other country before coming to New Zealand. There were also 894 people born in British countries who claimed foreign allegiance, including 734 females, most of whom were the wives of aliens. These figures indicate that 8,003 people of all ages were eligible to register as aliens, once they had turned 15. However, as at 17 April 1921 [the day the 1921 Census was taken] 9,021 people aged 15 and over, were registered as aliens. (NZ Statutes, 1920: 27-8) The Alien Register apparently contained an extra 1,018 people, a discrepancy which would be even greater if the 'alien' children aged less than 15 years, were removed from the Census figures. (8)

Included in the 1921 Census was a comment that many people apparently had misconceptions about their nationality, including confusion regarding dual nationality. Some people apparently thought they were naturalised simply by emigrating to New Zealand, although this was not evident amongst the people I researched. As a result of these presumed misconceptions, it was felt that the number of aliens could have been underestimated in the 1921 Census, however, possibly this was another result of the extra registrations in 1917. (Census of NZ, 1921, 'Allegiance', Pt. IV: 1-3)

FIGURES FROM THE 'REGISTER OF ALIENS' FOR LOCAL BOROUGH AND COUNTIES, INDICATING THE NUMBERS WHO REGISTERED UNNECESSARILY.

[British subjects had been naturalised in New Zealand and were NOT 'aliens' under the Registration of Aliens Act, 1917. Foreign subjects had not been naturalised in New Zealand and WERE 'aliens' under the Act.]

Borough/County	Total Registered	British Subjects	Foreign Subjects	Not Given
Feilding Borough	35	17	18	--
Foxton Borough	27	3	24 (a)	--
Palm. Nth Borough	390	182	111 (b)	97 (c)
Kairanga County	154	92	61 (d)	1 (e)
Manawatu County	86	47	37 (f)	2 (g)
Pohangina County	13	10	3 (h)	--
Oroua County	118	91	27 (i)	--

[MY CORRECTIONS (to date): (a) includes 4 who were probably B.S.; (b) at least 4 were B.S.; (c) includes 29 known or probably B.S.; 23 Chinese who were almost certainly F.S.; most others were probably F.S.; (d) 2 are B.S., and 1 probably B.S.; (e) a Tongan student; (f) up to 4 are B.S.; (g) both probably F.S.; (h) 1 probably B.S.; (i) up to 20 known or probably B.S.]

The problems surrounding the hastily-prepared Registration of Aliens Act seemingly grew out of seriously limited public information. Much of the information which



The committee of Danes who organised the dinner at Palmerston North in 1920 to celebrate the return of Northern Schleswig to Denmark. From left they are: (BACK ROW) E.G. West, F. Wescher, O.P. Monrad, N.P. Nielsen, O.P. Ronberg; (MIDDLE ROW) A.E. Clausen, Mrs M. Burmeister, Mr Butzback, Christian Clausen, Mr Johansen, Mrs O.P. Ronberg, Mrs F. Clausen, Mrs Anton Nielsen, Pastor Mads Christensen; (FRONT ROW) Mrs Johansen, Mrs Minnie Clausen, Charles and Elizabeth Dahl, Mrs Anders Nielsen, Hedvig [Mrs Mads] Christensen. (Photo - Clausen:8)

was given was effectively mis-information. Repeated attempts to introduce anti-alien legislation would have kept the foreign-born community on edge, and the passing of the Revocation of Naturalisation Act may have tipped the balance. Even so, the possibility that a silent protest occurred in some cases cannot be ruled out, and even the very limited evidence available gives this theory some weight. However, the stories passed down by the immigrant community of their experiences during this period is, to date, very generalised, and obviously this lack of information underpins the problem revealed here. In light of the various possibilities, and the fact that the cost of registration was personal and not financial, it may be that large numbers of these somewhat disillusioned people registered during the rushed thirteen-day period to avoid the £50 fine - just in case...!

THE FATE OF THE ACT - In 1920, the Registration of Aliens Amendment Act was passed. It de-naturalised women who were British subjects by birth, if they had married an alien since the earlier Act or if they chose to marry one in the future. The sex discrimination involved became an important women's issue of its time, and also caused considerable, sometimes heated, debate in the House of Representatives. It had also been realised that the original Act overlooked those people whose naturalisation was revoked under the Revocation of Naturalisation Act, 1917, and this omission was rectified. (NZPD, 1917, Vol. 186: 461-471)

The 1923 Registration of Aliens Suspension Act, suspended, but did not cancel the Act. The 1917, 1920 and 1923 Acts were finally repealed by the 1948 Aliens Act, along with similar ones relating to World War Two.

The 'Register of Aliens' survives as a valuable source of genealogical information - on women, as well as men. It provides details of address, occupation, birthplace, age, current nationality, current marital status and length of time in New Zealand - mostly as at late November 1917. Even more valuable, had they survived, would have been the original application forms. In addition to more specific information regarding the above, applicants had to describe themselves physically, including height, weight, hair and eye colour, build and distinctive marks. They also had to provide information on their spouse and children. Those who could not write had to 'sign' with a print of their left thumb. (NZ Gazette, 1917: 4138-4140)

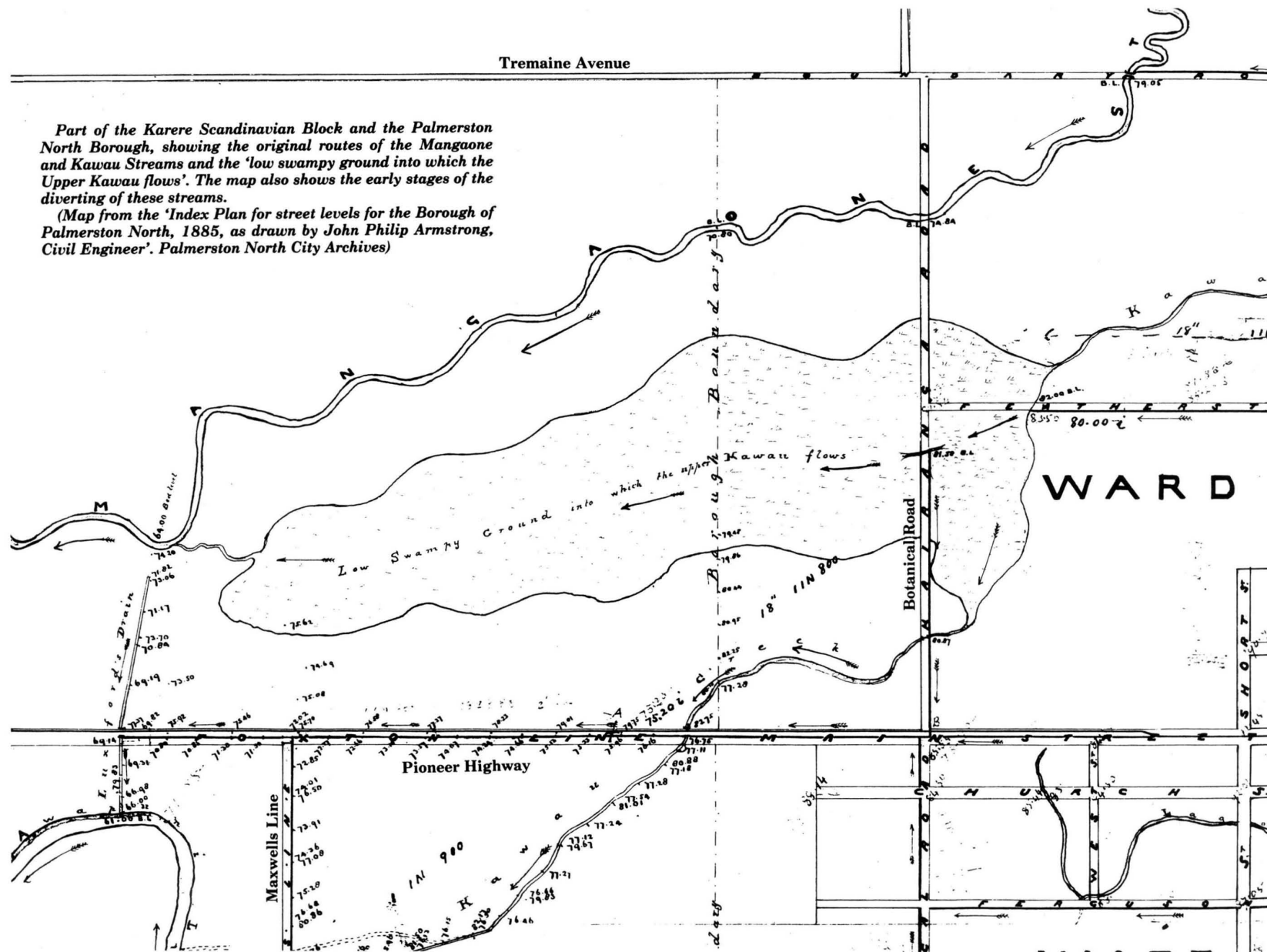
National Archives received records from the Aliens Registration Branch of the Justice Department in 1959, and at this time the card-index of the registered aliens of 1917 was recommended for destruction, as all the material in the cards had been published in the 'Register of Aliens'.

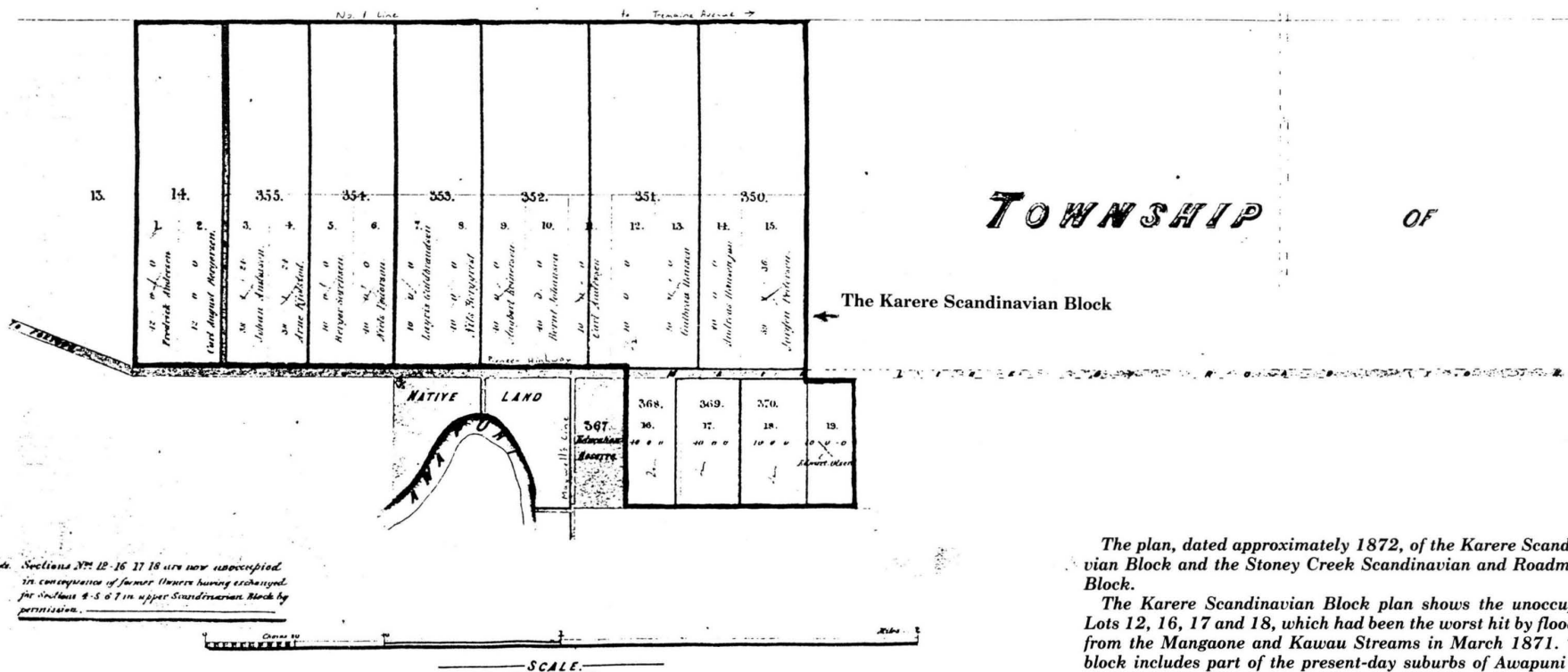
National Archives advises that it still holds the records of aliens who were interned, made prisoners of war, or who appealed their alien status. (9)

FOOTNOTES

- (1) 'New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs: Register of Aliens', 1917. (apparently published in 1918). I used the copy of this register held at the Massey University Library, Palmerston North.
- (2) I have not calculated how many of these people I found on one or both lists although it was probably well over half, and certainly most immigrant families. I soon came to expect them, or identifiable family members, to be on the Alien Register if I found the family's [usually the father's] entry on the naturalisation list. Luckily wives and children were also named on the passenger lists, and most families stayed close to where they had first been settled.
- (3) NZPD, 1917, Vol. 180: 40-42. Anti-alien legislation in the other Australian States and in other countries, was not researched, but clearly New South Wales' legislation was harsher than that which New Zealand put in place.
- (4) The 'Manawatu Evening Standard' has been assumed to be representative of newspapers of the time, some of which were sighted also. Probably its prejudiced "own Parliamentary Reporter" also supplied material to other newspapers. The 'Manawatu Daily Times' appeared more interested in a bill which proposed the '6 o'clock closing' of hotels.
- (5) Manying Ip: 178-9. Most of the approximately 2,611 Chinese, who were hardly 'enemy' aliens, would have been foreign subjects. In addition to decades of harsh anti-Chinese attitudes in New Zealand, the Chinese were specifically denied naturalisation between 1908 and 1952. Note: The term 'Chinese' as used here, is the 1917 definition.
- (6) Koehler family sources: Milton Koehler, Palmerston North; Koehler file in the Early Settler's Records, Palmerston North Branch of New Zealand Genealogical Society.
- (7) Dorothy Page's essay, 'Women and Nationality', includes coverage of the dilemma of New Zealand-born wives of un-naturalised men who were obliged to register around this time, but does not comment on the considerable number of wives of naturalised men who also thought they were obliged to register.
- (8) As at April 1921, the Register of Aliens included: 373 Norwegians, 430 Swedes, 498 Danes, 2 from Iceland and 174 Finns aged 15 and over. (NZ Statistics, 1920: 27-8) At the same time, the 1921 Census found 1,048 people of all ages who had been born in Norway, 1,206 in Sweden, 2,113 born in Denmark and Iceland, and 314 born in Finland. (Census of NZ, 1921, 'Birthplaces' Pt. III: 13)
- (9) Letter 13/9/1993, V. Fabian, Assistant Archivist, National Archives to VAB; Letter 29/10/1993, K. Phillips, Reference Archivist, National Archives, to VAB.

[Author's note: I would be very interested to hear from people who have stories, personal or otherwise, relating to the registration of 'aliens' in 1917. I can be contacted c/- the Scandinavian Club of Manawatu, P.O. Box 84, Palmerston North. - Val Burr.]





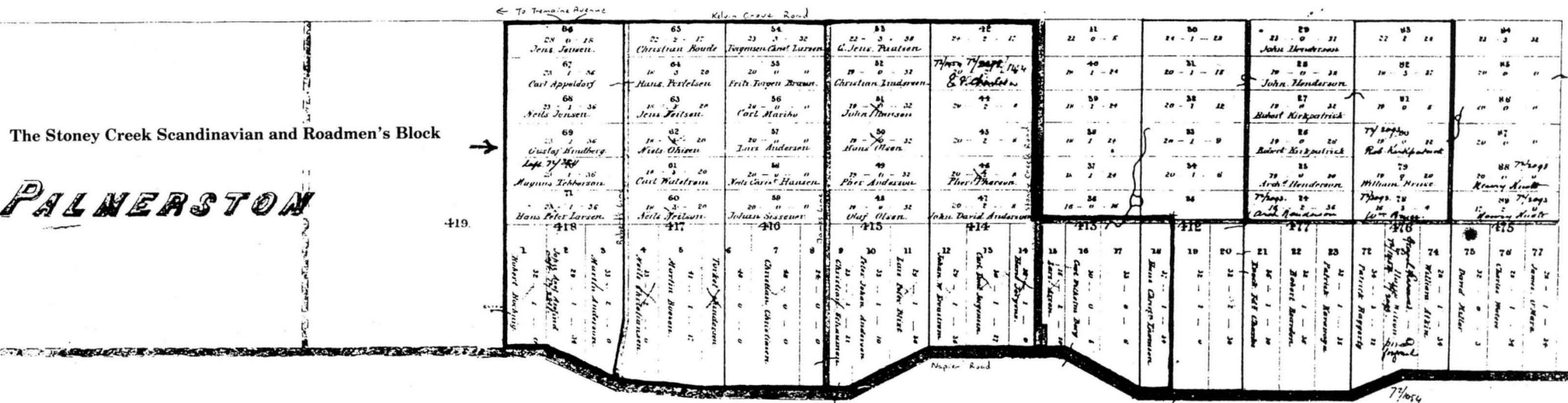
A party, complete with bandmen, heading for Palmerston North around 1907, on Napier Road just south of Raukawa Road. In the background is the Palmerston North-Hawkes Bay railway line opened in 1891. (Palmerston North Public Library)

The plan, dated approximately 1872, of the Karere Scandinavian Block and the Stoney Creek Scandinavian and Roadmen's Block.

The Karere Scandinavian Block plan shows the unoccupied Lots 12, 16, 17 and 18, which had been the worst hit by flooding from the Mangaone and Kawau Streams in March 1871. This block includes part of the present-day suburbs of Awapuni and Westbrook, stretching on the Westbrook side from a point about level with the Marriner Street-Duff Crescent intersection and almost to the outskirts of Longburn. The Pembroke Street-Monrad Street intersection is about level with the back of these farms. The modern-day Karere district is now centered around Karere Road.

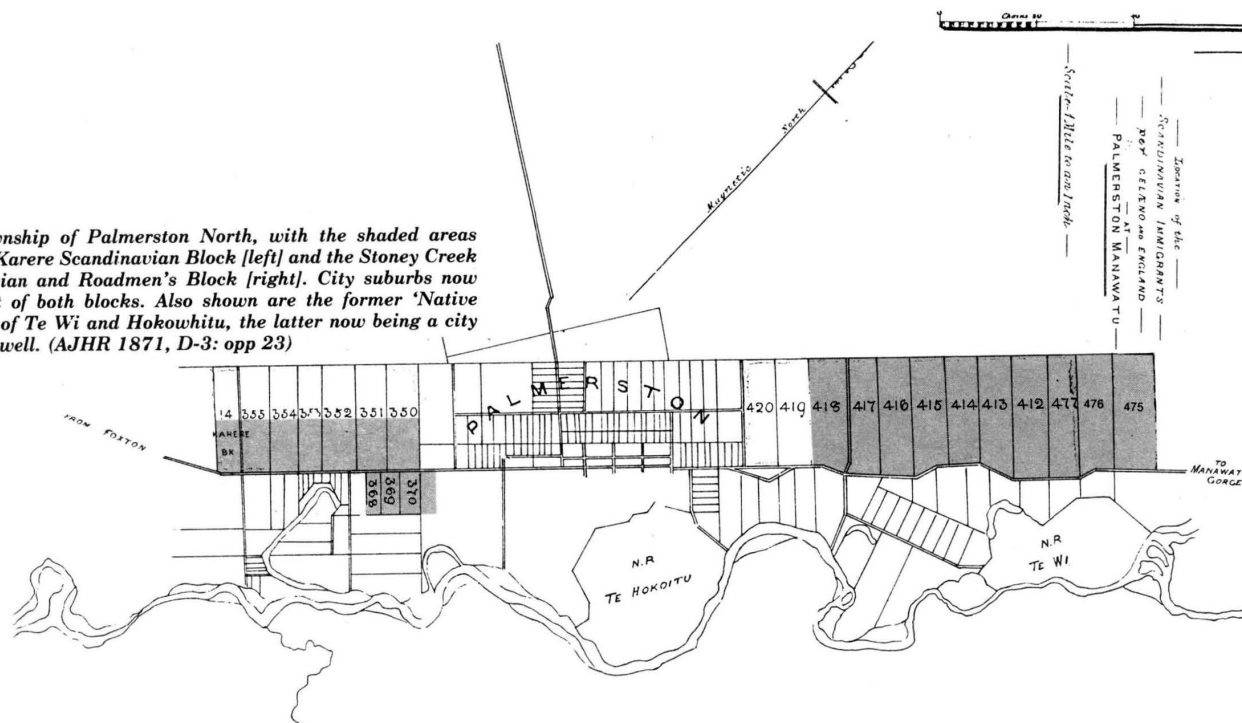
The Stoney Creek Scandinavian and Roadmen's Block covered much of present-day Kelvin Grove and Whakarongo, with Charisma Court marking its approximate boundary at the city end. Most of the properties fronting Napier Road were allotted to married couples, including the four couples from the Celaeno who had refused their land in the Karere Scandinavian Block. Their new land proved to be partly floodprone, but fortunately most of the Stoney Creek Block is above the Terrace and thus well out of the reach of major flooding - even though the Kawau Stream crosses it also. Many of the single men did not take up their small, bush-covered properties in this Block [most were on top of the Terrace] and it was not until the latter 1870s that another group of mostly Scandinavian and Prussian immigrants began converting this land to farms.

(Archives Map: M 1, P.N. City Archives, Palmerston North Public Library. Original is PWD 5479 at National Archives.)



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The township of Palmerston North, with the shaded areas being the Karere Scandinavian Block [left] and the Stoney Creek Scandinavian and Roadmen's Block [right]. City suburbs now cover part of both blocks. Also shown are the former 'Native Reserves' of Te Wi and Hokowhitu, the latter now being a city suburb as well. (AJHR 1871, D-3: opp 23)

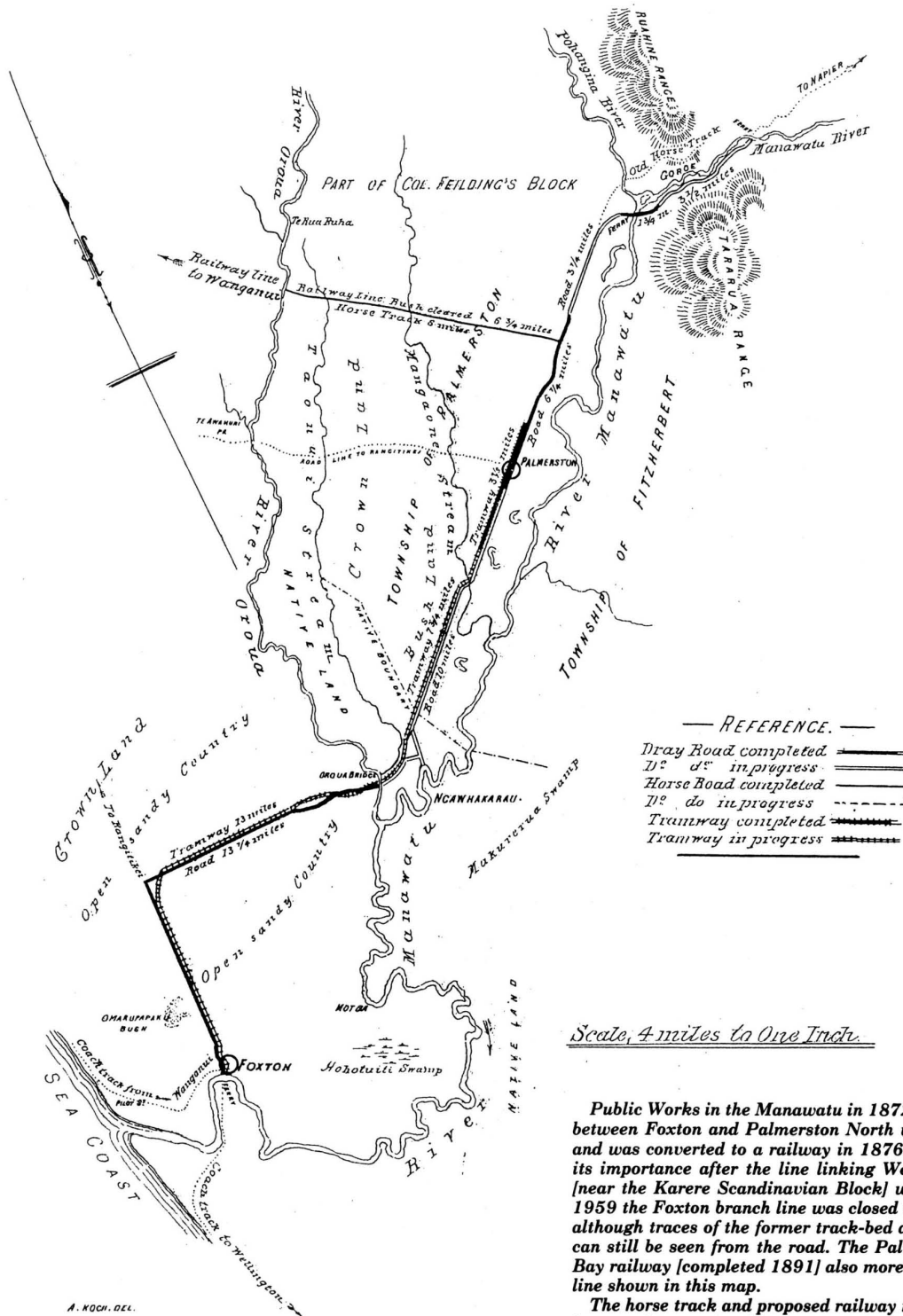


Note - Reduced from Cairns Tracing

MANAWATU DISTRICT
LINE OF ROAD. Foxton to Gorge
— joining Line to Napier —

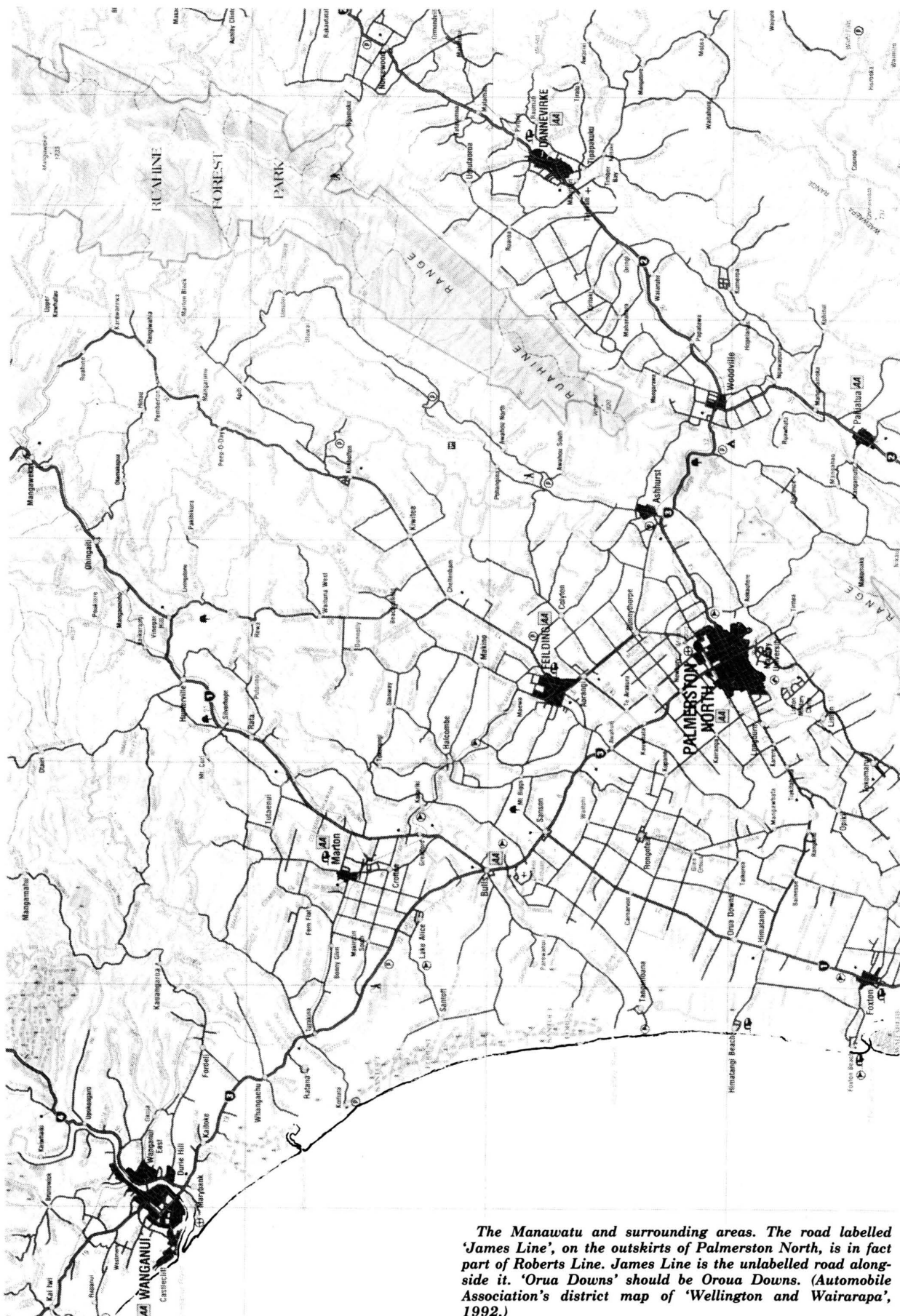
ALSO

TRAMWAY Foxton to Palmerston.



Public Works in the Manawatu in 1872. The wooden tramway between Foxton and Palmerston North was completed in 1873 and was converted to a railway in 1876. This line lost much of its importance after the line linking Wellington and Longburn [near the Karere Scandinavian Block] was opened in 1886. In 1959 the Foxton branch line was closed and its tracks removed, although traces of the former track-bed and some concrete work can still be seen from the road. The Palmerston North-Hawkes Bay railway [completed 1891] also more or less follows the road line shown in this map.

The horse track and proposed railway route shown on the map became Stoney Creek Road (see Las Lassen) and Campbell Road. Also shown is the original route of the Mangaone Stream through the Karere Scandinavian Block. (AJHR 1872, D-6)



The Manawatu and surrounding areas. The road labelled 'James Line', on the outskirts of Palmerston North, is in fact part of Roberts Line. James Line is the unlabelled road alongside it. 'Orua Downs' should be Oroua Downs. (Automobile Association's district map of 'Wellington and Wairarapa', 1992.)

J.
C.

We beg to remain
Dear Sir
Yours most
Respectfully

A. A. Helcombe Esq.

C. W. Johnson

Ni forbliver
Deres
Orbødige

A. F. Halcomb Secy

6. Lindgren

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Anders Hansen in Chile

Jürgen Pedersen

Edw. A. Brown

Three American Goldfinches

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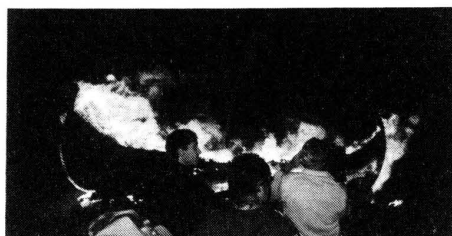
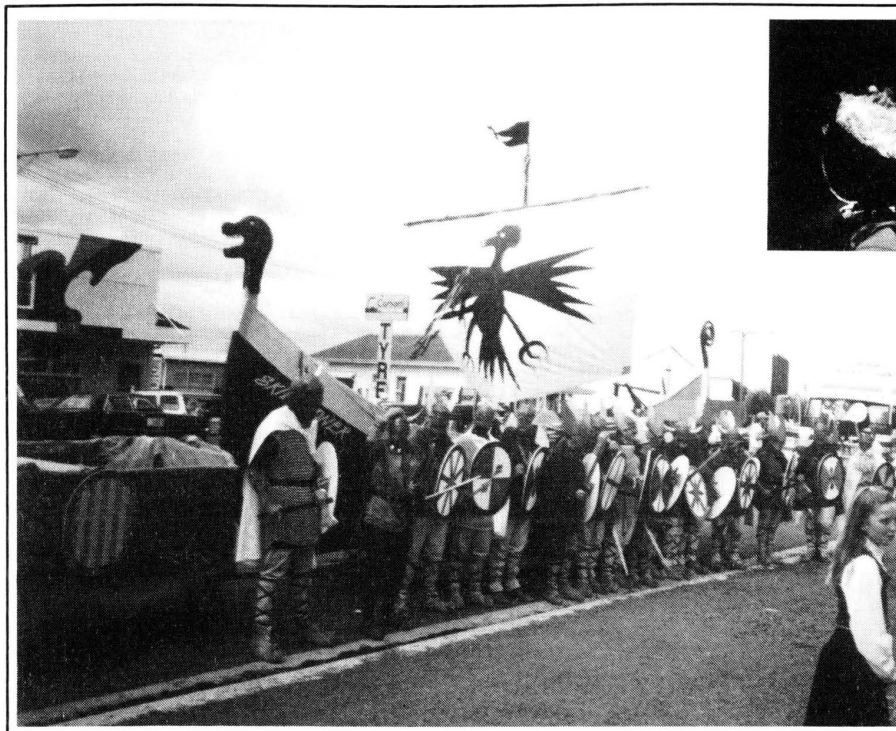
Also interviews and correspondence with descendants of, and acquaintances of, the families covered here, along with others able to expand on the various topics. Details of these sources appear with the stories concerned.

ABBREVIATIONS

AJHR	=	'Appendices to the House of Representatives.'
ATL	=	Alexander Turnbull Library
CYC of NZ	=	'Cyclopedia of New Zealand'
EP	=	'Evening Post'
ES	=	'Manawatu Evening Standard'
FS	=	'Feilding Star'
HBTCO.	=	Hawkes Bay Timber Company
KCC	=	Kairanga County Council
MH	=	'Manawatu Herald'
MHB	=	Manawatu Highways Board
MRB	=	Manawatu Roads Board
MT	=	'Manawatu Times'
NA	=	National Archives
NZPD	=	'New Zealand Parliamentary Debates'
PNSTDCO.	=	Palmerston North Sash, Door & Timber Company
RN&CO.	=	Richter, Nannestad & Company
WE	=	'Woodville Examiner'
WPGG	=	'Wellington Provincial Government Gazettes'
WI	=	'Wellington Independent'
WT	=	'Wellington Times'

METRIC CONVERSIONS

£1	=	20 shillings = 2 dollars
10/-	=	10 shillings = 1 dollar
5/-	=	5 shillings = 50 cents
6d	=	6 pence = 5 cents
1 mile	=	1.6 kilometres
1 acre	=	0.405 hectares



One of two important events celebrated by the Scandinavian community recently.

The Scandinavian Club of Manawatu's contributions to New Zealand's Sesquicentenary in 1990 were the book 'Early Manawatu Scandinavians' ['Skandia I'] and the replica Viking ship, Skibladner. This was 'ceremonially sacrificed' in front of hundreds of people on 8 December 1990, after winning the Best Float competition in Palmerston North's Christmas Parade earlier the same day. The ship had been built [from recycled materials] by Club members, Rodney Nielsen and Arthur Gosnell. (Karen Burr & Val Burr)

ADDENDA AND ERRATA

(pg. 34, para. 1) Three McEwen children, who were described as paupers, had their adoptions processed at Palmerston North in January 1885. Hugh Osborne adopted Harry London McEwen, Wilhelmina Maule adopted Margaret M. McEwen and Rana Blom adopted Sophia Osborne McEwen. (ES 28/1/1885 x2) 'Sophia Osborn McEwen' was born in late 1883 and her birth registered at Palmerston North. Wilhelmina Maule (c44) and her husband Carl Friedrich Leopold Maule (44) [later Maul] were from Guben, Germany. 'Maggie', their adopted daughter, was later a Mrs Hancock. (Maul family source: Ngaire Bayley, Turakina)

As fathers needed to continue earning a living, adopting out young children whose mothers had died seems to have been a common practice. When the widower, Richard Anderson, was killed at Firth's Sawmill, Ormondville, in 1886, it was reported that some of his children were adopted out by different families following his wife's death. (ES 16,17/3/1886) Women covered in this book who were widowed or deserted, tended to form new relationships to help provide for their families.

The story of Bine [Sine ?] Olsen, aged about twelve, provides some evidence of child employment in the mid-1880s. The servant of Laurvig Hermansen who lived between Dannevirke and Mangatera, she had returned from school at 3.00pm one day in 1886 and then headed into the bush to find Hermansen's cows. Unfortunately she became lost and did not hear either the search parties or the 9:00pm train. It was not until about 9:00am the next day that she walked out of the bush, having finally heard the 7:00am train repeatedly blowing its whistle to attract her attention. (ES 17/2/1886)

(pg. 35) Henry Bernard Gerhard Gardes, who was born in Berne, Germany about 1839, also interpreted in courtcases involving German immigrants. He was a Palmerston North cab driver in 1885 [driving a landau] and appears to have lived at Stoney Creek. Gardes was a settler of Palmerston North in when he was naturalised in 1905. He died in 1910 aged 72. (ES 1,14/10/1885, 4/11/1885, 8,18/12/1885)

(pg. 35) In 1885, the 'Evening Standard' reported on a tour of Scandinavia by the famous Swedish operatic and concert soprano, Madame Christine Nilsson [1843-1921]. The paper also reported how 18 people had been crushed to death, and many others injured, moments after she finished singing to over 40,000 people from her hotel balcony in Stockholm. About 200 police had been charged with controlling this huge crowd. As the crowd began to disperse, it had suddenly surged forward, encouraged by "the demonic yells of...roughs, who took advantage of the moment to attack and plunder people right and left." Those at the front of the crowd were pushed onto rough ground where they lost their footing and were trampled by the surging mass. Most of the dead were women and children. The devastated Nilsson paid the funeral expenses of the dead and gave thousands of krona to the injured. Swedish-born Marie Christensen from the Celaeno, is said to have been a relative of Christine Nilsson's, although to date no connection has been found between them. (ES 22/10/1885, 21/11/1885 [x2], 3/12/1885; Widding in 'Expressen', 8/7/1960: 11)

(pg. 42) C.A. Bergersen, gunsmith, started business in Rangitikei Street in 1886. The 'Evening Standard' recommended him as a practical workman who thoroughly understood every branch of his trade. (ES 15/5/1886)

(pg. 45) G.F. Hawkins took Martin Boesen to Court in 1885 seeking £5/17/-. He was sentenced to pay 10/- per month or go to gaol for 7 days if he defaulted. (ES 21/8/1885)

(pg. 47) In 1885, A.C. Christensen was taken to court by G.J. Symons who was seeking £3/7/6. Symons won. (ES 3/9/1885) The Palmerston North Borough Council took A. Christensen to court in 1886 seeking outstanding rates of £3/10/-. Christensen said that the building concerned was heavily mortgaged by the Building Society and that he had not occupied it for some time. The judgement was given to the Plaintiff, as was a second case, C. Jansen v A Christensen, involving £13/13/7. (ES 17/6/1886)

(pg. 49) Laurits Gulbrandsen [later Gulbransen] was born 27/3/1842. Ellen Andrewa Olsen was born 21/5/1845 to the wife of Ole Olsen, a tailor. The Gulbransen children were Ole

Genarius [15/6/1869, Oslo]; Polena Sigvada [15/5/1874 (sic), regd. 1st quarter 1874 as 'Pauline Sigvarde Gilbransen']; Ellen Marie [29/10/1875 (sic), regd. 3rd quarter 1875 as 'Gilbransen']; George Petter [19/9/1878]; Annie Caroline [28/7/1880, regd. as 'Anna Karolina']; Matilda Elisabeth [14/9/1882]; Albert Edward [9/11/1884]; and Ellen [11/7/1886]. (Fay Purves, Waiuku; birth registration index 1874-86, and M.E. Gulbransen's birth cert.)

(pg. 51) Gulbrand Hansen, Rangitikei Line, put a 3.5lb potato on display at the 'Times' office (MT 5/4/1884); and supplied milk to customers in Palmerston North (ES 18/6/1885).

(pg. 52) A caption in W.H. Smith's photo album (p. 20), held at Palmerston North City Archives, states that the contractors who built the first Fitzherbert Bridge were A.H. Ihle (q.v.), E.F. Charles (q.v.) and the Nilsen brothers. It is not known if the Nilsen brothers were from the England, nor if these people were in equal partnerships. The bridge caught alight in three places during the series of bush and grass fires around the country in January 1886. These were extinguished quickly by passers-by, including a Mr Rosenthal - probably Charles Rosenthal. It was suggested that the bridge, and wooden bridges in general, be painted with "new fire-proof asbestos paint" to protect them from chance sparks. (ES 19,20,21/1/1886)

The railway goods-shed Ihle mentioned would have been on what is now called the 'old railway land'.

(pg. 58 para. 10) The Mangaone Stream originally meandered through the Karere Scandinavian Block, crossing the road soon after passing through Lot 1. It was only after the Mangaoni and the Kawai were diverted that they went through Reinersen's Lot 9 toward the Manawatu River.

(pg. 62) The little daughter of Peter J. Andersen, Stoney Creek, was attacked by the neighbour's vicious dog. She was rescued by people from the Masterton coach which was passing by. (MT 1/3/1884)

(pg. 66) L.P. Blixt married Margaret Tessdale (31) at Ashhurst on 26/1/1890. Their witness was C. Thompson, an Ashhurst settler. Margaret, the daughter of William and Margaret Maddock, nee Doulton, was born in Kilkenny, Ireland. She arrived in New Zealand about 1885 and married Charles Tessdale in Auckland when she was 25 [c1886]. Charles Tessdale [of Ashhurst] died on 28/7/1888. Mary ['May'] Blixt was born 25/1/1892 at Ashhurst. ('Scandinavian Biographical Records', Palmerston North City Archives)

(pg. 76) The brother of Frine Ida Jorgensen was possibly Peter Christian Casse, a Dane[also] born around 1845-6 who had arrived in New Zealand in about 1868. He was a 54 year old Auckland labourer when he was naturalised in 1899 and was a 71-year-old married wharf labourer of 83 Nelson Street, Auckland, when he registered as an 'alien' in 1917.

(pg. 78) In late 1885 Las Lassen suffered a severe attack of rheumatic fever which lasted over a month. By mid-December the worst symptoms had disappeared and he was recovering slowly. (ES 16/11/1885, 12/12/1885)

(pg. 83) In 1886 the Ormondville correspondent of the 'Waipawa Mail' provided some background information on Mariboe. The correspondent had first met Mariboe in 1873, when Mariboe photographed him/her with a group of others. The correspondent light-heartedly remarked that since their first encounter, Mariboe's skills as a photographer had steadily improved with each of the several sittings they had had, and that the 1886 efforts were "certainly very faithful portraits". (MT 18/3/1886) Presumably Mariboe had just begun his photography work in 1873.

(pg. 84, Berkahn photo) Ernest [a carpenter] and Elizabeth Berkahn later settled in Feilding. They are pictured with their son, Alan Ernest [1901-1973], thus the photo was taken about 1905. Ernest's Prussian father and Danish mother had arrived on the Queen of the North in 1874. Alan later lived in Palmerston North. (Source: Neville Berkahn, Auckland)

(pg. 89, para. 2) Possibly the V.I.P. Hans Olsson saw was Governor Jervois who passed through the Manawatu Gorge in mid-October 1885 after visiting Palmerston North. (ES 9/10/1885, 10/10/1885, 23/10/1885)

(pg. 94) Mr C.P. Mai "opened a cooperage at his place" in Makino Road, Feilding, in 1885. (ES 5/9/1885)

(pg. 98) Nellie Charles was born 28 or 29/12/1883. Con Charles died 30/10/1895. Fay Purves of Waiuku, a granddaughter of Matilda Margaret Charles, understands that the surname 'Charles' had a French connection, and that Enoch died in 1899 in the manner as described in the text. Again no death registration has been found for him in New Zealand.

(pg. 101) One of C.J. Toxward's little children was almost crushed to death by the crowd at opening of the Wellington Exhibition. The child was saved by a policeman. (ES 12/8/1885)

(pg. 104) In March 1886 Charles Dahl announced that he would start manufacturing canvas goods in Palmerston North. (ES 24/3/1886, 29/3/1886)

(pg. 107, para. 4) In response to a request from a vintage machinery enthusiast, the 'Feilding Star' of 28/7/1897 states that: "A Rongotea farmer has imported a milking machine - the first to be introduced into the district." The edition of 11/3/1898 states that: "Mr S. Knight, of Rongotea, has had fitted up a milking machine which enables him to milk his dairy herd, of 50 odd cows, with two assistants, in an hour and three-quarters, whereas it formerly took him, with three assistants, three hours to milk the same number. The machine, which is fitted to milk eight cows at once, is the first in the district." There is no indication as to whether this was part of the 1897 trial Croucher later wrote of, nor of the power source Knight used for his machine. The aforementioned vintage machinery enthusiast defines the "horse power" used to operate Carl Andersson's milking machine as a horse walking on a treadmill. The 'Vintage Farming Magazine', No. 40, May 1987 (p. 12) published an article on the history of milking machines in New Zealand, but does not mention the Cannington machine.

(pg. 114, para. 6) Andrew and Tilly Eng lived above their bakery in the main street of Sanson, not Feilding as implied.

(pg. 118) The proposed Pahiatua Track is described in: (a) letters to the 'Evening Standard' of 13/5/1886; (b) "now known as Andrewartha's Road" in a letter from Richard Andrewartha in ES 22/5/1886; and (c) an account of the Pahiatua Track's history is given by George Snelson in ES 27/5/1886.

(pg. 112, para. 11) O. Eriksen, the Palmerston North undertaker in 1885, may be Andes Erikson, a cabinetmaker of the town. (ES 17/8/1885)

(pg. 123, para. 4) Possibly this Janet Stewart is the black-birder Janet Stewart [out of Maryborough, Queensland] which was attacked, burned, and some of its crew killed, at Malaita, in the Solomon Islands, in February 1882. The ship had been attempting to recruit islanders to work in Queensland's sugar cane fields, and the people from that part of Malaita had grown rather sick of this type of attention. (See Docker: 162-3, 249. ES 10/6/1886) There was no mention of what the Janet Stewart was carrying in Neilson's time.

(pg. 125, para. 7) Captain Sawyer should be Captain Sawyers

(pg. 129) Otto Westerholm, the son of Carl and Johanna Lovisa Westerholm of Finland, was living at Trondheim Sawmill when the couple married in 1881. Severina Elizabeth Blixt was born at Stoney Creek on 29/3/1881. By 1886, when Oscar Nicolai "Wainamoinan" was born, the family was living in Albert Street, Palmerston North. ('Scandinavian Biographical Records', Palmerston North City Archives)

In October 1885, Otto was assaulted by George Hartley at Richter, Nannestad & Co.'s Palmerston North sawmill. Hartley had just returned from the Company's new Tahoraiti Sawmill along with a Company-owned horse named 'Charlie'. Soon after, John Richter told Otto to use 'Charlie' as the horse Otto usually used was away. When Hartley saw him with 'Charlie', he asked Frits Jenssen [co-owner of the Company] if he had told Otto to use the horse. He had not. Knowing that 'Charlie' was very tired from his long trip, Hartley abused Otto and then struck him. When the truth was known, and when Hartley refused to apologise, the matter went to court - at a cost to Hartley of £2/2/-. (ES 15/10/1885)

Herbert Alexander Westerholm, a restoration architect following the 1931 Napier earthquake, possibly worked in the Dannevirke area before entering a partnership in 1932 with Napier architect, Walter P. Finch. The publication 'Discovering Art Deco: a guide to the Art Deco and Spanish Mission architecture of Napier and Hastings' (p. 13), describes

Westerholm as the more progressive of the two partners, and as a versatile architect who designed freezing works, wool stores, commercial and domestic buildings. He was possibly responsible for Spanish style buildings such as Napier's State Cinema and the Provincial Hotel, which 'Finch & Westerholm' designed.

(pg. 138) Parts of Terrace End Cemetery caught fire on at least two occasions during the severe drought, and corresponding bush and grass fires, of December 1885-January 1886. These two fires burnt the fences and grass on some graves. (ES 23/1/1886) At that time it was usual to have wooden fences around each grave and probably these were the fences referred to.

Although the cause of the 1885 Town Hall fire was never found, it appeared to have begun in the main hall. The library [or Public Reading Room], which was also in the Town Hall, had closed at about 10:30 pm and the fire was noticed about half an hour later. The library was at first viewed as a likely source of the fire, but the Custodian, George E.W. Koehler, had totally extinguished its lamps and fires before leaving. While Koehler had locked the main hall as he left, the door to the public entrance on Fitzherbert Street had remained unlocked. Its key had been lost for two years! (ES 15/8/1885) All those who had registered births, deaths and marriages between July 1st and August 4th, 1885, were requested to re-register as the fire had destroyed the originals. These are the copies now held by the Registrar-General in Wellington. (ES 21/8/1885)

(pg. 140, para. 17) John D. Gibaut (51) died on 30/5/1886 at his home on the Ashhurst Road [Napier Road], after a long, painful illness. His nationality was not mentioned. (ES 1/6/1886)

(pg. 141, para 1) The 'Mr Clausen' referred to, Christian Nicolai Clausen, was in fact a Palmerston North Borough Councillor at the time and would have been involved in the name-changing process. (Skandia I: 34)



'Jorgensen's Exhibition' in the Square in 1882 or 1883. No doubt the people posing in front of the shop include the family of Carl Emil Jorgensen (q.v.). Unfortunately, when Jorgensen build this shop in 1882, he overlapped the adjoining section by 10 inches. Subsequent owner, Mr Nathan, had to correct this mistake in 1884. In 1885, the building served as the temporary Public Reading Room [library] following the Town Hall fire. (ES 20/10/1884, 18/8/1885. Photo: W.H. Smith Photo Album, Palmerston North City Archives)

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One of two important events celebrated by the Scandinavian community recent was the Sixth Scandinavian Gathering which was hosted by the Club and held at Foxton in early March 1993. Highlights included a parade down Main Street, Foxton, and a flag-raising ceremony on the old wharf site where the 1870s Scandinavians had landed. The Club also gifted a flagpole and plaque to the town, to commemorate this early association with Foxton.

Contrast the photo of the old Foxton wharf site in 1993 with the same site in 1880 [see J. Andreassen] and with the early map of the Manawatu River mouth [see C.M. Neilson]. In 1943 the



Whirokino Cut diverted the river away from Foxton and its wharf. The 'Foxton Loop', which had been a bottle-neck for floodwaters, is now a backwater.

The Scandinavians had entered an ethnic melting pot when they settled in New Zealand and two-year-old Kieran, photographed beside the plaque at Foxton on 6 March 1993, is probably typical of his generation. Not only does he have Swedish and Norwegian great great grandparents [and a Dane by an 1887 adoption], but he is also of English, Scottish, German and Maori descent.

(Val Burr)

GERMAN EMPIRE, AUSTRIA. DENMARK, HOLLAND & BELGIUM.



Denmark, the German Empire & Austria as they were in 1879, from Nelson's Atlas of the World (1879): XII

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Dushbad, et smukt decoreret Billiard-
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altid holdte i god Stand samt hensigts-
mæssige ydre Bekvemmeligheder,
hvoriblandt kan fremhæves Staldrum
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